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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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CONTENTS

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

Slyunkov Speech at BSSR Party Aktiv Meeting Reported (N. N. Slyunkov; SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA, 11 Dec 86)	1
LiSSR's Grishkyavichus Speaks at Komsomol Congress (P. P. Grishkyavichus; SOVETSKAYA LITVA, 28 Feb 87)	4
Kiev Oblast First Secretary on Cadre Work, Education (G. Revenko; POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE, No 12, Dec 86)	12
Poltava Obkom 1st Secretary Discusses CPSU CC January Plenum (F. Morgun; PRAVDA UKRAINY, 11 Feb 87)	25
Lvov's Dobrik on Scientific Progress Administration System (V. Dobrik; POD ZNAMENEM LENINIZMA, 24 Dec 86)	32
Active Role Urged for Workers in Party Cadre Appointments (Yu. Kovalev; PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN, No 3, Feb 87)	40
Secret Ballot, Multi-Candidate Elections Held in Uzbek Rayon (M. Gribinyuchenko; PRAVDA, 7 Mar 87)	46

MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

Readers Answer Questionnaire on Newspaper Effectiveness (S. Ryabov; PRAVDA UKRAINY, 3 Feb 87)	50
Tehran Daily Criticized for Report on Soviet Drug Addiction (Moscow in Persian to Iran, 10 Mar 87)	54

RELIGION

Urban Religious Believers Profiled (V. Saprykin; NAUKA I RELIGIYA, No 2, Feb 87)	56
Raykom Figures on Believers Regarded as Too Low (S. Guljanov; SOVET TURKMENISTANY, 23 Dec 86)	64
Briefs Figures on Number of Mosques in USSR	65

SOCIAL ISSUES

Sociological Study Notes Public Service Problem Areas (Vilen Alavidze Interview; NEW TIMES, No 10, 16 Mar 87)	66
Officially Sanctioned 'Mediocrity' in Vuz's Protested (V. Grigoryan; KOMMUNIST, 7 Feb 87)	69
MVD's Vlasov Interviewed on Antialcohol Battle (A. V. Vlasov Interview; IZVESTIYA, 11 Mar 87)	73
Moscow Counselors Cite Continuing Antialcohol Law Violations (A. Agafonov, S. Zamoshkin; VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA, 8 Dec 86)	78
IZVESTIYA Reports War Criminal Sentenced to Death (Yu. Sidorov; IZVESTIYA, 15 Mar 87)	80
Yakutsk Police Officials Punished for Misconduct (V. Natykin; TRUD, 5 Feb 87)	81
KaSSR: Rural Drudgery Forces Youth Into Cities (Aytbala Bamaghambetova, Galina Skalina; BILIM ZHANE ENGBEK, No 12, Dec 86)	85
USSR Procuracy Official Comments on Law Enforcement in TuSSR (S. A. Shishkov Interview; TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA, 10 Dec 86)	86
Turkmen Writer Denounces Bride Price, Related Rituals (Ye. Prikhodko; TRUD, 7 Jan 87)	92

REGIONAL ISSUES

Estonia Changes to New Wage System (Arnold Ryuytel; GOLOS RODINY, No 49, Dec 86)	95
TuSSR: Sixty Percent of Products Substandard (SOVET TURKMENISTANY, 19 Dec 86)	98
Consumer Goods Production To Increase in Turkmenia (SOVET TURKMENISTANY, 26 Dec 86)	98

Fruits, Vegetables Rotting in TuSSR Warehouses (SOVET TURKMENISTANY, 5 Dec 86)	98
Large-Scale Theft, Cotton Growing Problems in UzSSR Cited (Kapitolina Kozhevnikova, Vladimir Sokolov; LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, No 7, 11 Feb 87)	99

/7310

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

SLYUNKOV SPEECH AT BSSR PARTY AKTIV MEETING REPORTED

Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 11 Dec 86 p 2

[Report of speech by N. N. Slyunkov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Belorussian CP Central Committee: "High Quality--Key to Acceleration"]

[Excerpt] As previously reported, a republic meeting of the party and economic aktiv was held in Minsk on 8 December. The tasks of party organizations, BSSR ministries and departments, associations, enterprises and organizations in preparing for the introduction of state inspection and for ensuring a radical improvement in the technical level and quality of production were discussed in light of the requirements outlined in M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the 14 November 1986 CPSU Central Committee meeting.

N.N. Slyunkov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the BSSR Communist Party Central Committee, addressed participants at the republic meeting.

The need for radical improvement in the technical level and quality of production, he emphasized, is dictated by the entire strategy of the party's economic policy, by the transition of the national economy to intensification and by the further advancement of the national well-being. It results directly from the course for accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, advanced by the April 1985 Central Committee Plenum and developed by the 27th CPSU Congress.

Production quality receives priority in assessing the economic activity of production collectives and entire sectors. This is also reflected in the state plan for economic and social development of the republic, which was passed at the recently convened BSSR Supreme Soviet session. For the first time indicators for renewing production and a share of the most important types of goods consistent with the world standard were included in the plan. The plan stipulates raising the share of machine building production corresponding to the best similar domestic and foreign models up to 41 percent of the total and its renovation up to 8 percent in the next year.

The achievement of these stepped-up goals will require the efforts of all cadres. A system for work by party, soviet and economic agencies to improve

production quality radically at all levels of leadership and management has been established in the republic. The task is to achieve precise functioning of all links in this system--from the labor collective up to government. The resolutions, made jointly with union ministries and directed towards raising production efficiency, technical level and quality of production in the 12th Five-Year Plan, are very important. At the same time, many indicators should be considered minimal, envisioning further stepped-up goals in the yearly plans as new reserves and opportunities are brought to light.

N.N. Slyunkov noted that the CPSU Central Committee considers the introduction of state inspection to be a component part of the strategy for acceleration and restructuring of the economy on a qualitatively new basis, and not as a temporary campaign. The first results of work under the new conditions indicate that the corresponding preparation has not been carried out everywhere. In order to correct this situation, the organizing and guiding influence of obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms of the Belorussian Communist Party and primary party organizations in solving these tasks must be strengthened. In the course of 10 days, meetings of communists, Komsomol members and labor collectives must be held in each enterprise, at which preparation for the introduction of state inspection must be examined and shortcomings must be revealed and eliminated without delay. It is important to define the role and place of every communist and every employee in the transition to the new conditions, be he worker, designer or general director. Within 2 weeks the staffing of state inspection agencies with skilled, politically mature specialists should be completed and the operation of these collectives should be organized on a fundamentally business-like basis, not allowing red tape and formalism. Party committees should see to it that from the very outset the party organizations and groups, created within the new extradepartmental control subdivisions, concentrate the efforts of employees on the faultless performance of the duties placed upon them.

N.N. Slyunkov directed attention to the fact that state inspection is not simply an additional controlling link, not simply a barrier on the path of low-quality production. State inspection employees, jointly with production workers, should conduct a forestalling search for the causes of defective output and participate in their elimination and in improving the equipment and technology. An important task of party organizations is that of making trade union and Komsomol organizations, people's control committees and groups, and other social organizations more active in this work. Trade unions are called upon to strengthen the role of labor collectives in the struggle to raise the technical level and quality of production, to amend the organization of socialist competition, and to evaluate the professional mastery of workers and engineering and technical employees according to their merit and with broad publicity. It is necessary in every possible way to support initiative and disseminate the experience of brigades working according to the principles of collective responsibility for the output of high-quality production. An atmosphere of genuine intolerance towards violations of labor and technological discipline and towards those who permit defective output and wastefulness, who do not value the honor of the factory trademark, must be achieved. The Komsomol and all youth should not stand aside from these

matters. The key task of raising quality cannot be solved without active involvement of the human factor; this task should become a vital matter, an inner need for all workers, no matter where they work.

The introduction of state inspection is a test of maturity, of the ability to restructure in accordance with the tasks set by the party. Economic managers and the secretaries of party committees and organizations bear personal responsibility for this. Little time remains until the end of the year, yet much remains to be done. It is necessary to analyze the entire course of preparation and entire set of questions again and again. Nothing in this matter is insignificant; everything is interrelated and everything is important. The ability of the republic's industrial enterprises to change over to state production inspection successfully and to ensure accurate, error-free operation depends on this.

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

LISSR'S GRISHKYAVICHUS SPEAKS AT KOMSOMOL CONGRESS

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 28 Feb 87 pp 1-2

[Speech by P. P. Grishkyavichus, First Secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee at the 21st Lithuanian Komsomol Congress: "The Komsomol is an Active Participant in Changes"]

[Text] Dear comrades! The 21st Lithuanian Komsomol Congress is an important event in our republic's social and political life.

Please allow me, in the name of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, to extend a cordial greeting to you, the congress delegates, and all the Komsomol members in our republic, and to wish you success in the resolution of the tasks that have been outlined by the party for the creation of a new society.

Every day convincingly confirms how stubbornly and consistently the Communist Party and its Leninist Central Committee are fighting for the steady implementation of the strategic course of the 27th CPSU Congress, which is aimed at the restructuring of all spheres of life in our society.

A new and powerful impetus for the intensive resolution of that historic task has been provided by the documents of the January 1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the Report given at that Plenum by Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. The decisions enacted at that Plenum have mobilized our republic's party organization to strive even more actively to assure that the restructuring takes on the broadest possible scope. In the light of the Plenum's requirements, we must take a new look also at the activity of our republic's Komsomol organization and improve it considerably.

"The party organizations, their committees, and the Komsomol," Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev emphasized at the January Plenum, "must reveal the future prospect to the young generation, and must do everything to assure that young people actually do become active participants in the changes." This is a fundamental political principle, the consistent implementation of which is one of the most important tasks of modern times.

It is a good thing that you people at this congress are speaking frankly and in a well-principled manner, and, with the energy and efficiency of youth, have been discussing the prospects of your work.

The congress work indicates that you have listened very carefully to, and have thoroughly analyzed, the statement made by M. S. Gorbachev at the 20th Estonian Komsomol. The tasks outlined in that speech are of critical importance also for the Komsomol organization of our republic. They must become a beacon in the work of every Komsomol member, of all young men and women.

The restructuring process that has been begun by the party is no longer an idea, but is reality. It has been seizing the masses and renewing our society. Tremendous changes, which are revolutionary in their essence, have been occurring, and they have been reinforcing the historic gains of socialism.

We have traveled a long and heroic path, and we have withstood all the tests. However, we cannot limit ourselves to what has been achieved. The job begun by the Great October is continuing, and we are obliged to work unceasingly to assure that the revolutionary changes in our society become all-embracing. We must always work in a Leninist manner to resolve vital problems.

We place a positive evaluation on the work of the republic's Komsomol organization in the area of the ideological indoctrination of the young generation, and in mobilizing it for important causes. One is gratified to see the initiatory style of many primary Komsomol organizations in resolving economic and social questions. At the same time we want to call upon you always to think and act in a new way, so that the young people of our beloved republic will sense their historic responsibility even more profoundly and will participate more actively in the restructuring of society.

There are truly many reserves for improving this work. They lie primarily in the education of the Komsomol workers, in improving the forms and methods of their work.

In recent years we have developed a rather large number of politically well-trained, energetic, and intelligent Komsomol leaders. Unfortunately, one does not always see in their work the predominance of a spirit of creative search, or a genuine desire to restructure one's work in such a way that it always conforms to the needs of the youth and to the requirements of the time.

A lot has been done to consolidate the Komsomol aktiv. However, the work with the cadre reserve is still being conducted unsatisfactorily. Therefore there have been instances when the persons being promoted to managerial work in the Komsomol are unprepared, and sometimes even casually selected individuals. Another alarming situation is the fact that certain young Communists do not always work enthusiastically in the Komsomol. The Central Committee of the republic's Komsomol and the city and rayon Komsomol committees are obliged to work more efficiently and effectively to resolve the questions of selecting, training, and assigning cadres. The training of Komsomol workers and activists, their political training, and the increase in their responsibility for the job assigned to them must invariably be in the center of the party agencies also.

Concerned about increasing the social role of the Komsomol cadres, the party committees are required to work actively to resolve also the questions of their promotion to managerial work in various spheres. During the past five years more than 2000 Komsomol workers and secretaries of primary Komsomol organizations were promoted to party, soviet, economic, and trade-union work. This positive tendency must be reinforced even more.

Vladimir Ilich Lenin remarked that it is impossible for anyone to learn communism only from books, and that it is impossible to instill responsibility in people without assigning responsible jobs to them. One must be constantly guided by this thought in all the work with the younger generation.

More than 450,000 young men and women are currently working in our republic's national economy. Many of them have a broad horizon, erudition, and education, and have been fulfilling various assignments with Komsomol enthusiasm.

We have a large detachment of young people among the advanced workers, and of active organizers of Komsomol work. They are everywhere, in many collectives. They include Marite Kryauchelyunayte, a weaver at the Allius Cotton-Fabrics Combine, and Sergey Katasonov, welder at the Ionava Repair-and-Construction Installation Administration No. 5. They also include Irena Lukshayte, milkmaid on the Dragugiste Kolkhoz, Pasvalskiy Rayon, and Zigmās Burba, production-instruction foreman at the Klaypeda Sovkhoz-Technicum. Many young scientists and engineers, teachers and physicians, are working unselfishly. They know their place and role in our age of revolutionary acceleration.

Obviously, we all want every young person to work as actively as possible to resolve specific problems. Therefore it is very important for the Komsomol committees and the primary Komsomol organizations to operate more decisively in this area. There are many things that still require improvement.

There is an especially noticeable lag in the area of increasing the contribution made by young people to scientific-technical progress. An insufficiently large number of the Komsomol members working in production have been seeking new technical decisions. Another abnormal situation is the fact that only every third young scientist is fulfilling a project that has an obviously practical application. A large number of unused reserves exist for developing the students' leaning toward research work. Technical clubs are still insufficiently popular both in the general-educational schools and in the vocational-technical schools.

The Komsomol committees must never be passive observers of those processes. It is their duty and a matter of honor for them to take decisive steps to assure that the young people use as actively as possible their creative capabilities for the acceleration of scientific-technical progress. The economic managers must also display greater self-interestedness in this regard. They are obliged to do everything to support the young people's valuable initiatives. We place large hopes also on the teacher collectives. The aims of the school reform require them to work much more decisively to encourage the scientific and technical creativity of the younger generation.

The Komsomol-youth collectives are of great socioeconomic and educational importance. During the past five years their number has increased by a factor of 1.5. Much has also been done in the area of increasing the effectiveness of the work performed by those collectives.

However, frequently the young production workers unite only formally into Komsomol-youth collectives. The appropriate working conditions are not always created for them. For that reason as many as 7 percent of the members of those collectives drop out annually. An especially abnormal situation has developed in Vilnius and in Kelmeskiy and Yurbarskiy rayons. The number of young men and women who are working in Komsomol-youth collectives there is from one-third to one-half the average number for the republic. It is necessary to take immediate steps to unite the efforts of the party, Komsomol, and economic agencies and to achieve a fundamental improvement in the organization of those collectives.

In many Komsomol-youth collectives the fight for the quality of output is being carried out insufficiently actively. The Komsomol committees must establish closer contacts with the State Acceptance commissions and must work more actively to promote the resolution of the questions of improving the technological processes and improving the efficiency of production. More effective measures must also be carried out in the area of introducing progressive methods for the organization and payment of labor, and particularly the brigade contract. The situation in this area cannot be considered normal. And this pertains primarily to Kedainyskiy, Pakruoyskiy, and Ukmergskiy rayons. There the brigade contract method has been introduced in only an insignificant number of the Komsomol-youth collectives.

In your statements you have frequently emphasized how important it is to develop a conscientious attitude that a young person takes to his work. It is a good thing that that question has been disturbing you. The results of production actually do depend largely upon discipline, consolidation, and self-discipline. Therefore all this must invariably be in the center of attention of the Komsomol organizations. It is very important to strive constantly to achieve a situation in which the work quality and discipline become the norm in the activity of all the young production workers.

Having intensified the attention to the resolution of questions in the social development of the rural areas, we succeeded in achieving a situation in which, during recent years, we have seen a stabilization of the number of young people working in agriculture. There was also an increase in the rate of production and social participation of rural youth. These have been truly significant changes, and it is very important to take all steps to multiply them.

We are alarmed by the circumstance that in many rayons there has been no response to the initiative taken by the graduates of the Pabaryzhskaya Secondary School -- the initiative of using their efforts in agriculture, which was supported by the Lithuanian CP Central Committee. Whereas, in 1983, 15 percent of the graduates found jobs on the republic's kolkhozes and sovkhozes, in 1986 that number dropped to 12 percent. Of last year's graduating class, only 4-6 graduates stayed behind to work on farms in

Varenskiy Rayon, and the same number on farms in Shvenchenskiy Rayon. We cannot reconcile ourselves to this. It is necessary to improve fundamentally the vocational guidance of the students and to intensify the influence of the Komsomol organizations in this process.

No one should be reassured by the circumstance that the number of young persons working as mechanizers and animal husbandrymen in our republic has been gradually growing. We still have entire rayons where the situation is actually bad. This pertains primarily to Utenskiy, Ignalinskiy, and Shvenchenskiy rayons, where, in recent years, the number of young mechanizers has become even smaller. In certain rayons there is also an abnormal situation with the way in which young people are assigned to jobs in animal husbandry. In Utenskiy Rayon, as well as Lazdiyskiy and Moletski rayons, young men and women constitute only 4-8 percent among the workers in animal husbandry. This is inadmissible negligence. The party and Komsomol raykoms and the agroindustrial associations are obliged to make serious conclusions and must correct the situation. The Lithuanian Komsomol Central Committee must also work more actively in this area.

At this congress many well-substantiated remarks have been made about the communist education of the youth, and its effectiveness. This is an extremely important task of the Komsomol. It is necessary to be concerned constantly about the labor, ideological-political, and moral training of our youth. It is necessary to shift the center of this work directly to the youth collectives and to search persistently for new, interesting, and effective forms.

Young people quickly notice not only the positive changes in our life, but also that which has become obsolete in it, that which has outlived its time. Therefore it is necessary for the educational work performed by the Komsomol organizations always to be created, and for it to correspond to youth's needs and interests. It is desirable to organize for young people a larger number of interesting discussions, frank talks on vitally important questions, and exciting and meaningful classes. It is time to take much more decisive steps to reject every kind of formalism, every action performed only for show, and every instance of idle talk in this work.

Life requires us to provide more frequent opportunities for young people to have frank talks with the secretaries and department chiefs of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee and with the administrative workers at the Komsomol's city and rayon committees. It is also necessary to achieve a situation in which the administrative party and soviet workers have regular communication with the young people. The best propaganda specialists and lecturers, and eminent masters in the arts, must speak regularly to youth audiences. Even more attention must be devoted to individual work with young people.

The Lithuanian Komsomol is rich in interesting traditions of international and patriotic education. But we are seriously concerned about the circumstance that this work frequently is executed superficially, and that it contains a large amount of uncontrolled activity and actions taken simply for outward effect. Sometimes there is an avoidance of a frank and businesslike discussion with the youth of the vitally important problems of developing

national relations. By no means do we always observe well-argued answers being given to the questions that are troubling young people. All these shortcomings in the work with young people must be eradicated in the most decisive manner.

We must constantly remember that any underestimation of the importance of the international and patriotic education of young people can create the prerequisites for the manifestation of nationalistic moods. Understanding this, all the Komsomol organizations are obliged to act with real combativeness. It is necessary to create the appropriate conditions to assure that young people have a thorough understanding of the national policy of the Communist Party and the real development of national relations. At the same time it is necessary in an uncompromising and invariable manner to bar the way to any manifestations of nationalism or national narrowmindedness.

The school Komsomol organizations can and must do an especially large amount of work in this area. It is important to create an atmosphere in which the young students take a more active interest in studying the social sciences, which constitute the basis of the communist political philosophy. In order to form that philosophy, it is necessary to make more effective use of those broad opportunities that have been opened up by the elective course "Soviet Lithuania in the Family of Fraternal Nations," which was introduced on the initiative of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee.

The Komsomol organizations at the higher and secondary special schools must also do more active work. They are required to increase their role in fulfilling the tasks outlined in the Basic Directions for restructuring the higher and secondary special education in the country. It is necessary to strive more decisively to assure that all the students become good specialists and ardent patriots of our socialist Motherland.

It is necessary to coordinate more closely the international and patriotic education of the young people with the formation of atheistic convictions. It is very important to take active steps to develop in the young people an intolerance toward religious views and moods, and toward the attempts of clerical extremists to use religion for antisocialist purposes. It is necessary also to take more persistent steps to introduce new Soviet and Komsomol traditions.

One cannot fail to see that wherever this work is done carelessly, without any initiative, there arises fertile ground for religious moods. That is what happened, for example, on the Veyvirzha Kolkhoz, Klaypedskiy Rayon. Recently there has been an increase there in the number of young people participating in religious ceremonies and the number of children serving in the church. Why has this happened? It turns out that on that kolkhoz the House of Culture and the library have not been operating for a long period of time, and the place where the young club used to meet has been turned into a storage area for the raypotrebsoyuz. Unfortunately, that situation did not substantially alarm anyone -- neither the managers, nor the party or Komsomol organization on the kolkhoz. The Komsomol's Klaypedskiy Raykom also failed to demonstrate proper adherence to principles in defending young people's interests.

Instances such as this are inadmissible. All the party and Komsomol organizations must be constantly concerned about developing a scientific-materialistic political philosophy among the young people.

Many young men and women are striving for high ideals, and are thirsting to use their efforts in an active and purposeful way. It is necessary to take all steps to support these yearnings. At the same time it is necessary, in the most demanding and well-principled manner, to fight any violations of legal and moral norms.

A rather large number of Komsomol organizations have actively entered into this work. But the crime rate among adolescents and young people is still high in many places. It is especially inadmissible that frequently the number of Komsomol members who have violated legal and moral norms has even been growing. For example, last year the number of Komsomol members who violated law and order, as compared with 1985, in Shvenchenskiy Rayon increased by almost 82 percent; in Trakayskiy Rayon, by approximately 78 percent; and in Shyayulayskiy Rayon, by 70 percent. Those are the kinds of undesirable results of the passivity and unprincipled attitude of certain Komsomol organizations.

The Lithuanian Komsomol Central Committee and the Komsomol's city and rayon committees are obliged to take more decisive steps in the fight against violations of law and order. It is necessary to create everywhere an atmosphere of exactingness and intolerance toward them, and to give a well-principled evaluation of every instance of violation of legal and moral norms. It is very important for many Komsomol organizations to strive more effectively to eradicate drunkenness and alcoholism, and to speak out more strictly about irresponsibility, and sometimes even a consumer attitude toward life. And, obviously, we must in no instance take an indulging attitude toward the antisocial actions of Komsomol members. Anyone who takes such actions has no place in the Komsomol.

It is also necessary to improve fundamentally the organization of young people's recreational activities. It would not be justified to assert that these questions are of no interest to the republic's Komsomol organization. However, that which has already been done to resolve them is only the first step.

We especially frequently encounter the passivity, and even the inertia, of certain Komsomol committees and primary Komsomol organizations in using for educational purposes discotheques and clubs, parks and stadiums, and sports centers and arenas. It is completely impossible to justify the situation in which certain party, soviet, and economic agencies do not always give effective support to the efforts of the Komsomol in working meaningfully and in an interesting way with the young people.

We are in favor of recreational activities that form the individual. Unfortunately, it sometimes happens that youth nights, discotheques, and other measures become centers for propagandizing the mass culture of the West. That must not occur. The republic's Komsomol organization must work much more

actively to assure that young people have a thorough understanding of the reactionary nature of that imaginary culture.

The youth press must also act more actively and more constructively in this area. Recently its popularity has increased considerably. An interesting search is also being conducted for way to renew young people's television and radio broadcasts. Nevertheless the republic's journalists still owe a large debt to the young people.

We still have a small number of high-grade materials and broadcasts that analyze in an exacting way the vitally important problems of young people's lives and that propose pertinent alternatives for Komsomol activity. Excessively attracted by criticism, the authors of several articles sometimes forget objectivity and strive for a sensationalistic effect. And this, obviously, does not promote the restructuring process.

Large and responsible tasks confront the republic's Komsomol organization.

This year we shall celebrate the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. We must do everything to assure the proper observance of that event.

Please allow me, in the name of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, to wish you and all the young people in our republic, from the bottom of our heart, further success in labor and training, energy and good spirits, and personal happiness.

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CSO: 1800/415

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

KIEV OBLAST FIRST SECRETARY ON CADRE WORK, EDUCATION

Moscow POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE in Russian No 12, Dec 86 pp 3-11

[Article by G. Revenko, first secretary of the Kiev Obkom of the Ukrainian Communist Party: "The Marxist-Leninist Education of Cadres and the Style of Party Work"]

[Text] At the present crucial stage all cadres, and primarily managerial ones, have been called upon to serve as an example of restructuring, of the ability to act in the way that is required by the new tasks. The 27th CPSU Congress, confirming the unshakability of the Leninist principles of selecting, assigning, and educating cadres, also formulated precisely the increased demands on them. "Every manager," the congress resolution states, "must be distinguished by ideological steadfastness; a high level of political culture; competency; the ability to build collective work and to inspire people by his personal example; faithfulness to principles; firm moral convictions; and a constant need to communicate with the masses and to live solely for people's interests and needs" ("Materialy XXVII syezda Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza" [Materials of the 27th CPSU Congress], Moscow, Politizdat, 1986, p 116).

The congress required of every party committee serious qualitative shifts in the entire system of working with managerial cadres, and primarily in its most important link -- Marxist-Leninist education. It is only on the basis of a thorough mastery of revolutionary theory and the party's historical experience that it is possible to form a scientific political philosophy in managers, to arm them with the methodology of analyzing present-day economic and social problems and with effective methods for assuring the ideological education of workers, and to strive for a true unity of word and deed. Under conditions when the Soviet nation has begun to implement the tasks assigned in the new keynote documents of the CPSU and when it is necessary to restructure the entire political, ideological, and organizing work, massive and effective ideological-theoretical rearming of managerial cadres is -- as was emphasized at the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee when it was considering the question of improving party-political education of managerial cadres in light of the decisions of the party's 27th Congress -- a very important matter for party committees and higher party educational institutions (see PRAVDA, 27 June 1986).

Our oblast has a considerable cadre potential at its disposal. During the years of the past five-year plan alone, the number of certified specialists has increased by more than 12 percent. Every third one of them is a Communist Party member. There has been a constant improvement in the qualitative makeup of managerial cadres. Among managers who are included in the party "nomenklatura," 97 percent have higher education, and almost two-thirds of them are specialists in the national economy. All the first secretaries of the party's gorkoms and raykoms, and every fourth worker in the party apparatus, have professional party-political education.

The tremendous amount of strenuous work that had to be done within a short period to eliminate the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant became a strict test of cadres and their ability to act in an extraordinary manner, efficiently, and precisely. And it must be said that, under those very complicated conditions, many managers showed their best sides. They include first secretaries of the party's Poleskiy and Chernobylskiy raykoms, N. I. Priymachenko and A. N. Amelkin; chairman of the Poleskiy rayispolkom, A. I. Andrushchenko; chief of the Oblast Administration of Passenger Motor Transport, N. V. Gorokhovskiy; chairman of the ispolkom of the Borodyanka Settlement Soviet of People's Deputies, O. V. Levadna; party committee secretary at the Kolkhoz imeni Kalinin, Chernobylskiy Rayon, V. M. Kurta; and director of the Borodyanka Excavator Plant, A. Kh. Kirilyuk. During the period when the population was being evacuated from the danger zone, they demonstrated high organizational capability, tenacity, and an ability to lead people.

Genuine heroism and a profound understanding of their duty were demonstrated in eliminating the consequences of the accident by shift chief at the plant's power unit, V. G. Smagin; deputy chief engineers at the nuclear power plant, N. V. Karpan and L. K. Vodolazhko; reactor shop chief V. V. Grishchenko; and others. A personal example of placing high demands upon himself and of professionalism in his work is provided by the newly appointed director of the nuclear power plant, E. N. Pozdyshev.

At the same time not all our managers, under those complicated conditions, stayed firm in their commitment. For example, managers who failed to cope properly with the work sector assigned to them, who demonstrated an irresponsible attitude, and in a number of instances faint-heartedness were chief engineer at the nuclear power plant N. M. Fomin; deputy chief engineer for scientific matters M. A. Lyutov; chief of the plant's technical-production department A. D. Gellerman; chief engineer of the Chernobyl branch of Yuzhatomenergogtrans, A. G. Shapoval; director of the trade center of the ORS [workers' supply department] for the construction of the nuclear power plant, B. V. Ketov; and deputy chairman of the board of the Yagotinskiy Rayon Union of Consumer Cooperatives, N. I. Kovtun. All of them have been removed from the ranks of the CPSU. A thorough evaluation has been given to the incorrect actions taken by other Communist Party members also.

The party's obkom learned serious lessons from what had happened. The most important are that the party committee and its workers must take a more exacting attitude toward the cadres; must know them better; must be able to differentiate between a truly dynamic nature, true efficiency and competency,

and a simulation of those features; and must take prompt and decisive steps to discontinue at all levels any manifestations of slackening, of indifference, or of taking an irresponsible attitude toward the job at hand.

With regard to the lessons of Chernobyl, we are attempting to penetrate more deeply into the root causes of the existing cadre problems, of which, to state it outright, we still have a considerable number as of today.

For example, a question that is critical in our oblast is how to bring about a considerable improvement in agricultural production. It is understood that the correct choice of kolkhoz chairmen and sovkhos directors is one of the ways to resolve the question. It would seem that, since there are almost 19,000 agricultural specialists, it should not be especially difficult to find a well-trained farm manager. However, in practice, the search for candidates for advancement frequently takes months.

A similar problem exists in selecting managerial workers at enterprises in light industry, trade, and personal services, and this, naturally, cannot fail to trouble us.

It will be no exaggeration to say that the difficulties in selecting capable organizers and the low rate of return on the efforts of some of our cadres are explained primarily by the quality of our work with managers and by omissions in the organizing of their professional training and their political education and indoctrination.

During recent years much has been done to introduce a consistent and promising approach in this key area of party work. For a long time we have conducted training of certain categories of managerial cadres on the basis of comprehensive plans. We attempt to form both an immediate reserve and a long-term reserve for replacing persons in the managerial positions at practically all levels. There has been a precise definition of the procedure for promoting cadres from the primary party organization to the party obkom. Other measures are also being carried out. But we have not yet succeeded in effecting any qualitative turning point. In the light of the present-day party aims, it is obvious that the system that has developed for working with cadres requires an appropriate amount of rethinking.

Questions linked with the improvement of cadre work were discussed thoroughly, critically, and in a self-interested manner at the oblast party conference, plenums of the party's obkom, gorkoms, and raykoms, and at meetings in the primary party organizations. The comprehensive plan for training agricultural specialists, education, and culture was aimed at a substantial improvement in the composition of managerial cadres.

The party committees have considerably expanded the group of people among whom they conduct a search for candidates for promotion. A forecast of cadre shifts in the party, soviet, trade-union, Komsomol, and economic agencies is being prepared for the current five-year plan. Reserve schools have been created in six cities and rayons. The requirement to combine experienced and young managers in management, and to monitor their efficient succession, is being fulfilled more strictly. The party apparatus is becoming younger.

Modern approaches to the job at hand are by no means within everyone's capability. Everyday practice confirms that the managers who are not "up to" the new tasks are primarily those who have become accustomed to working circumspectly, using their old mental baggage, who rely only on bureaucratic methods, who do not want to study seriously or, where necessary, to retrain.

There still are a rather large number of sectors where one senses a shortage of well-trained managers -- organizers with a new, modern way of thinking, who combine ideological conviction and broad erudition with the ability to interpret the processes of social practice, to evaluate their own work critically, and to learn the proper lessons from it. Of course, we do not produce a manager like this simply by waving a magic wand. We must work carefully and painstakingly to develop him.

In the work with cadres, the obkom and party organizations proceed from the assumption that, in developing a manager, the fundamental factor has been, is now, and will continue to be arming him with Marxist-Leninist theory, with the ability to think and work creatively, to act based on broad policy positions, and to prevent even the slightest gap between word and deed.

The existing system of Marxist-Leninist education for managerial cadres is, indeed, subordinate to this, and the basic links of that system are the Marxism-Leninism university of the party's obkom; the oblast, rayon, and city schools of the party-economic aktiv; theoretical seminars; as well as propaganda work performed by our managers, and, of course, their political self-education.

A chief factor today in the training content is the thorough study of the Leninist ideological wealth, our party's Program, the CPSU Central Committee's Political Report, and the principles stated in the party Rules and resolutions linked with implementation of the party's course that is aimed at accelerating our country's sociopolitical development. It is important to make complete use of the current school year in order to introduce creative principles into instruction for managers at all levels, and to guarantee an organic tie between the study of theory and the needs of practice.

We are attempting to implement the party's new demands on managerial cadres primarily through the improvement of work in the Marxism-Leninism university. It is precisely there that Communist managers can deepen and renew their ideological-theoretical knowledge and obtain a political education. Every year that university instructs more than 2000 students, of whom 80 percent are party, soviet, and Komsomol workers and economic managers.

What priorities can one see here? What specific innovations have appeared? A year ago the classroom-correspondence form of instruction at the university for enterprise managers was introduced for the first time. Theoretical training for responsible workers of soviet agencies was organized. We are carrying out the instruction of a future reserve of managers through the university and have increased the number of young Communists sent to take training.

We are working persistently to restructure the educational process in the university. A large place in the curricula has been given to practical classes, to job-related games, and to students' independent work. New courses have been introduced: "The Classic Authors of Marxism-Leninism Concerning Socialism and Communism," "Leninist Theory Concerning Communist Morality," and "Increasing the Role of the Soviets of People's Deputies in Accelerating Our Country's Socioeconomic Development." Intensified attention has been devoted to the study of the vitally important problems of the ideological struggle, the historical experience of the CPSU, pedagogy, and social psychology. The students have been carrying out a thorough examination of questions of intensification of production on the basis of scientific-technical progress and the introduction of advanced experience. The study of theory is tied in with managers' practical work. This angle of vision was taken in reconsidering the subject matter of their graduation projects, in which famous scientists, major specialists, and experienced party workers have been more broadly involved in reviewing.

I would like to discuss separately questions linked with the work of oblast schools for the party-economic aktiv. Recently a rather large amount has been said about them, but the points made have been, for the most part, negative. In our opinion, as of today the schools have not yet exhausted their capabilities and we should improve this form of education.

Until the past school year we too used to construct the work of the oblast school in accordance with a well-traveled scheme that had been used for years, and that work was summarized as lectures and seminars. At the present time we have changed that practice. With the purpose of guaranteeing a differentiated approach to the training of various categories of managerial cadres, the oblast school now has nine training groups, each of which has its own curriculum and program, which take into consideration the students' specific needs and interests. The persons approved as group leaders are party obkom secretaries, oblispolkom chairmen, oblast trade union chairmen, and Komsomol obkom first secretaries. Leading scientists in Kiev have been asked to participate as scientific leaders.

In the process of studying the party's economic and social policy at the present-day stage, the chief emphasis is placed on bringing theory as close as possible to practice. School students regularly listen to statements made by secretaries and responsible workers of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee, the UkSSR Council of Ministers, and UkSSR Gosplan, and leaders of advanced collectives. Classes are conducted at those party organizations and labor collectives where positive experience has been accumulated. For example, questions of the personal participation of managerial cadres in the acceleration of scientific-technical progress were studied on the basis of the party's Belaya Tserkov gorkom; organization methods to introduce advanced experience in agricultural production were studied in Borispolskiy Rayon; and ways to economize material, labor, and fuel-and-energy resources were studied in Obukhovskiy Rayon. Practical classes were held at the Ploskovskiy Sovkhoz, Brovarskiy Rayon, which regularly produces 6000-7000 kilograms of milk per cow, and in Vasilkovskiy Rayon, where one of the first cultural and sports centers in the republic was created.

Practice has shown that the adjustments that have been made have enlivened the work of the oblast school and have enabled us to make classes more meaningful, interesting, and beneficial for students.

It is more complicated to resolve the question with the city and rayon schools of the party-economic aktiv. Speaking frankly, we must say that the work of many of them has not been satisfactory to the party's obkom. One can still observe instances of stereotypic actions and a formalistic approach, and it has become customary to replace the study of critical theoretical problems with a superficial examination of purely practical questions. At the present time we are attentively analyzing the work of the best city and rayon schools in order, after carefully weighing their experience, to improve the content and organization of work in the entire system of political and economic education.

The obkom views personal participation in propaganda and mass-political work as one of the most effective forms of political training for managerial workers.

Today in our oblast, out of every ten Communist managers, eight head schools and seminars of party and Komsomol political education, and economic education. Many have shown themselves to be skillful propagandists, authoritative ideological mentors, and educators. These include Ye. F. Kruglik, director of the Brovary Tire-Repair Plant; S. Ya. Krepoten, manager of the Kiyevselektrosetstroy Trust; Yu. V. Tovstenko, director of the Yagotin Sugar Refinery; I. I. Khlyupko, director of the Kiev Poultry Factory; N. A. Tyapko and N. M. Vasilchenko, chairmen of the Kolkhoz imeni Gorkiy, Makarovskiy Rayon, and the Peremoga Kolkhoz, Kagarlykskiy Rayon; and V. S. Ostapa, director of the Kiyevskiy Sovkhoz.

Propaganda work forces the leader himself constantly to study, expand his horizon, and improve his personal qualities. Experience shows that propaganda leaders, by penetrating deeply into the affairs and concerns of their students, gain a better knowledge of the capabilities of the labor collective and its moral-psychological climate. In the final analysis this makes it possible to work in a purposeful manner to increase people's labor and social participation rate and to resolve successfully the tasks that have been assigned.

Confirmation of this can be provided by the experience of Viktor Timofeyevich Tuluk, chief mechanic at the Belaya Tserkov Association of Tires and Rubber-Asbestos Articles, who has worked for more than 15 years as a propaganda specialist. Everyone who has visited his classes has mentioned his ability to involve the students in a creative discussion of vitally important questions.

Here is just one episode from his practical experience. The class was discussing the topic "The Acceleration of Our Country's Socioeconomic Development Is an Urgent Task for the Party and the Entire Soviet Nation." Automobile-tire vulcanizer G. N. Ivanova remarked that, as a result of the remodeling of the shop, there was an opportunity to increase her personal contribution to the acceleration. The propaganda specialist seized that idea and achieved a thorough, self-interested discussion of it by the students.

Together they concluded that, through an increase in the level of their professional proficiency, it is possible -- and, one might say, necessary -- to expand the service zone. When computations were made, it was ascertained that labor productivity will increase by 10 percent. The proposal was not simply supported, but also taken on as standard equipment by all the students.

One especially senses the need to combine in one person the manager and the propaganda specialist in the rural area. This need, then, has brought to life a new form for training workers in mass occupations in agriculture -- comprehensive schools. At the beginning of the past five-year plan party organizations in kolkhozes and sovkhozes in a number of rayons in the oblast came forward as initiators of their creation. The Political Education Center provided organizational and methodological support to that initiative.

Wherein lies the usefulness of this form? First of all, it is organized according to the principle "we work together, so let's study together." All the members of the labor collective study at the schools: Communist Party members, Komsomol members, nonparty members. The second peculiarity is the principle of comprehensiveness when determining the content of the instruction program. The students simultaneously receive political, economic, and occupational training.

Today this new form of instruction has encompassed 72 percent of the machine operators, livestock specialists, and field crop cultivators in the oblast. Propaganda work is conducted here by 5600 persons -- sovkhoz directors, kolkhoz chairmen, party, soviet, and trade-union workers who have been freed from their other duties, shop chiefs, brigade leaders, and agricultural specialists. In addition to the party committees, trade-union committees and agricultural agencies have been involved in work with propagandists. Opportunities have expanded for propaganda specialists to specialize with a consideration of their occupational, job-assignment, and personal preferences. The preparation for the classes is simultaneously a process of deepening one's occupational knowledge and improving oneself in one's chosen specialty. We are convinced that this form of instruction has a good future.

Of course, not all managers work as propaganda specialists in an equally fruitful and responsible manner. One can encounter comrades who have not become aware of the importance of propaganda work and who take an attitude toward it as being a "work load" that only keeps them away from production matters. We attempt to change this attitude fundamentally. We are taking increasingly dynamic and increasingly frequent steps to have managers give oral reports at party meetings, bureau sessions, and plenums concerning their personal participation in educational and agitational-propaganda work.

Without a doubt, the political knowledge and practical skills in communicating with people are acquired by the managers not only in the process of propaganda work. There are also a large number of other effective forms.

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Almost 30,000 managerial workers in the oblast spoke to a total audience of

1.5 million persons. The workers sent in more than 5000 questions, critical comments, and proposals (the answers to many questions were given on the spot, but time was required for the resolution of others). All this helps the party's obkom, gorkoms, and raykoms to plan their work more precisely.

There is no doubt that the forms that have been mentioned are very important. Nevertheless they will not provide the proper return without daily strenuous self-education, which is completely irreplaceable in the formation of a precise position with regard to political philosophy, or political culture in the broad sense of the word.

Putting it simply, some of the managers have been seriously deficient in their work in this regard. One of the reasons for this, it would seem, consists in the fact that prolonged orientation towards extensive factors in the growth of the economy led to a reduction of the role played by theoretical knowledge in increasing the effectiveness of production. One also sees the effect of the force of inertia, and the inability to organize one's mental labor effectively. Therefore we direct the party committees toward the creation in all collectives of a situation that will develop and encourage in the managers an interest in political knowledge and give them a taste for theory. On the one hand, we broadly propagandize the best experience in organizing the training of Communist managers on the basis of individual plans, which experience was accumulated in the city of Belaya Tserkov and in Brovarskiy, Boguslavskiy, and Vasilkovskiy rayons, and, on the other hand, we strive to intensify the organizing principle that pertains to the party organizations in this matter.

In conformity with the goal of the 27th CPSU Congress concerning the need for the continuous education of cadres, we strive to put the various forms of their training into a logical, interconnected system. We strive for a situation in which every plenum, every buro session, conference, lecture, and seminar is, for the managers, a school of restructuring, an active impetus to dynamic practical actions.

At the same time I would also like to mention a number of problems linked with the Marxist-Leninist education of cadres, the resolution of which depends not only upon us. We have in mind, first of all, the increase in the role of the higher party educational institutions in training a reserve for all links in the party apparatus. We are concerned about the fact that, although during the past five years the higher party educational institutions have graduated more than 140 persons in our oblast, the percentage of these workers in the party apparatus continues to be insufficient. Only every other person who has been put into the reserve for promotion as first secretaries of the party's gorkoms and raykoms has been graduated from a VPSH [higher party school], and among those listed in the reserve for chairmen of city and rayon ispolkoms, only every fifth person. These figures make one think. It would seem that among the measures to improve the party-political education of managerial cadres one should substantially expand the "nomenklatura" of workers to be sent to those schools for instruction. Thus, it would be desirable to provide party committees with a greater opportunity to send for training the party's gorkom and raykom instructors who have demonstrated their value on the job, as well as party organization secretaries who have been freed from their other

duties, and the managers of departments of city and rayon ispolkoms. As a rule, these are the persons who are in the promotion reserve.

And then there is a second factor. The present managers were yesterday's graduates from institutions of higher learning. Let us be frank: during that very period as students, many of them showed a serious lack in assimilating theoretical knowledge and slid over the surface, without learning Marxist-Leninist theory in any integrated or thorough manner. And so it turns out that during the subsequent period of his life, the manager is unable to fill in these gaps.

Therefore a question that rises currently to its full height, as M. S. Gorbachev emphasized at the All-Union Conference of Heads of Social-Science Schools, is the question of the need for considerable improvement in instruction of the social sciences for purposes of forming a scientific political philosophy.

Practical activity is the chief sphere for the application of knowledge. Helping managerial cadres, and primarily party workers, to make effective use of the knowledge received, and mastering the methods of exerting a political effect upon social processes are the areas in which the party's obkom and party organizations today see one of their most important tasks.

It is no simple matter to discern the effect that Marxist-Leninist education has upon improving the work style of cadres. In each individual instance this manifests itself in its own way. But one regularity is obvious. The process of restructuring and resolution of tasks that have developed proceed more successfully wherever, in addition to professional competency, the training of the party, soviet, and economic workers is at a higher level.

For 12 years the largest city party organization in the oblast -- the Belaya Tserkov party organization -- has been headed by bureau member of the party's obkom, deputy to the republic's Supreme Soviet, Yuriy Alekseyevich Krasnoshapka. The main feature that distinguishes him is his high competency, his ability to attract people to himself, his ability to accumulate the opinions and experience of others, to isolate key questions, and to concentrate the efforts of cadres, party organizations, and labor collectives in resolving them. And another feature is his constant need to search for that which is new and more effective. It is completely understandable that the city's party organization has been moving ahead confidently. Judged on the basis of the results of the past five-year plan, the city emerged as a winner in the All-Union Socialist Competition. The assignments of the first year of the 12th Five-Year Plan are being fulfilled for all the most important indicators.

The following example attests to how important it is today for a party worker to think in a new way, to be able to translate overall tasks into a language of specific deeds. Three years ago V. R. Shvets was recommended as first secretary of the party's Kagarlykaskiy raykom. Prior to that time he had headed the Boguslavskiy Rayon party organization and had shown himself to be a capable worker. In his new assignment he also began working dynamically. He began with the cadres, by studying their real capabilities. With every

manager he had a thorough discussion, a kind of certification session. He steadfastly raised the question of the political and economic training of every individual, and his self-education. The secretary's high exactingness toward himself and toward others and his ability to assign cadres correctly and to lead people have yielded their results. The rayon which previously had been a backward one emerged as a winner in the All-Union Socialist Competition with regard to the results of the 1985-1986 wintering-over operations and socialized animal husbandry, and the implementation of a program for the social restructuring of villages has been begun.

These examples, which, in our opinion, are typical ones, of course do not mean that all cadres have become fully engaged in restructuring, or that restructuring is being carried out smoothly everywhere.

In critically gauging what has been done and in seeing clearly the real picture of restructuring, one is aided by the fundamental principles and conclusions expressed by M. S. Gorbachev at meetings that were held with the party aktiv and workers of Krasnodar and Stavropol krais. As was noted in the decree of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee with regard to this question, although society as a whole has taken decisive steps to adjust to the changes, the process of restructuring is proceeding in a complicated, contradictory, and uneven manner, has been coming up against various social-psychological and organizational obstacles, and has been countering the resistance of those who, for their own selfish interests, have been attempting to preserve procedures and habits that have outlived their day. In this generalized evaluation we also see ourselves, our own "minuses."

Recently we had a comprehensive and frank collective discussion about the rate of restructuring and the role and place of managerial cadres in this matter when we discussed the report given by V. I. Shutenko, first secretary of the party's Yagotinskiy raykom, at a plenum of the party's oblast committee.

After carefully evaluating what has been done, the plenum noted that, as yet, there has been no fundamental restructuring in the work of the party's raykom. Reasons for that were also mentioned: omissions in the selection and education of managerial cadres; and insufficient exactingness toward them. It was pointed out that the buro of the party's raykom and its secretaries are doing little to develop the initiative and independence of workers in the party apparatus, they do not delve deeply into work being done by the primary party organizations, and they try to take the place of soviet and economic agencies.

The plenum required the party's Yagotinskiy raykom, the other party committees, and their secretaries to carry out a thorough analysis of their work, to provide a daily example of restructuring, to encourage everything that is aimed at correcting shortcomings, and to develop the active participation of labor collectives and a creative mood there.

The attention of the party committees was also directed to the fact that managers must take more energetic and dynamic steps to implement a very important goal of the congress -- to guarantee a strong social policy everywhere, and to show constant concern for people and constant attention to their needs.

For the oblast as a whole, a turning point has already been noted, but not all the approaches have been changed, by any means. A number of cities and rayons are continuing not to use the funds that have been allocated for the construction of housing and structures intended for social and cultural purposes. Individual managerial workers have not been delving into the problems of the services sphere too thoroughly and are showing insufficient concern for the improvement of the work performed by hospitals, schools, and stores. The party's obkom has been intensifying the demand for resolution of these questions, and giving a well-principled evaluation to this situation.

At the same time I would like to comment that there is also a need here for restructuring in the upper economic echelons. Frequently the ministries orient their subordinate organizations and enterprises towards fulfillment of the plan at any cost, and prefer to invest funds chiefly in the production sphere, without thinking about people.

In this regard I would like to mention the collective at the Vasilkov Refrigerator Plant. Recently there has been mention of the low quality of output produced by that collective. There have been many reasons for that. One of the basic ones has been the lack of the proper concern for people's working and everyday living conditions. The housing problem is an especially acute one at the enterprise. And yet Minlegpishchemash [Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances] in the current five-year plan has not allocated a single ruble for these purposes. I might note that Minister L. B. Vasilyev will never be able to find the opportunity to visit the plant, to meet with the workers and specialists, and to give and take advice about how to correct the situation. It must be stated outright that for the time being other ministers also do not feel any special need to have lively communication with people at the enterprises themselves, at the very places where the fate of the assigned plans is being decided.

The CPSU Central Committee orients us toward the need to carry out restructuring on the march, in the course of implementing new tasks. Therefore we attach priority primarily to education of all managerial cadres -- party, soviet, and economic -- to have initiative and high responsibility for the assigned job, and a readiness to act boldly and in an innovative manner without being afraid of making a mistake. "Innovation and difficulty in making a change," Lenin taught, "naturally, cause an abundance of steps which are taken, so to speak, by fumbling, an abundance of errors and vacillations, because otherwise there can be no sharp movement forward" ("Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 36, p 204).

Well, if the manager is incapable of restructuring himself, of using in his practical work the knowledge that he has received, or if he hides old ideas behind new words, then he must yield his place to another worker who is more energetic, more competent, and more conscientious. And at such time neither his longevity nor his previous merits can be taken into account.

Not all the cadres withstand the test of actions. For example, in the current year laying in a supply of fodders was a critically important task. But the managers of Stavishchenskiy Rayon did not lift, so to speak, even a finger or

apply their minds to build up the fodder resources or improve the quality of the feed. The buro of the party's obkom brought to strict party responsibility P. A. Kvashuk, first secretary of the party's raykom, and V. A. Bondar, chairman of the rayispolkom. After thoroughly analyzing the work style of each of them, buro members concluded that V. A. Bondar had practically exhausted himself as a manager. He was relieved of his duties in the position to which he was assigned and was transferred to ordinary work.

It must be frankly admitted that we still encounter party committees where cadre questions are not resolved in the spirit of present-day requirements. Recently the obkom buro strictly censured V. I. Romanyuk, first secretary of the party's Vyshgorodskiy raykom, for his serious miscalculations in cadre work. At that raykom, there had been a lack of discrimination and of principles in the selection of managers. In a number of instances, unchecked people had been promoted to responsible positions, and even workers who had previously compromised themselves had been put into the reserves.

Against a background of improvement of the entire social atmosphere one can see delineated more clearly the moral outlook of every manager and his ability, by means of his personal example, to lead people. Those who, to use the words of M. S. Gorbachev, have two sets of morals -- one for other people, and one for themselves -- are, in the final analysis, rejected by the labor collectives themselves.

Recently it was necessary to resolve this difficult question at the scientific-production nursery association that was headed by Doctor of Agricultural Sciences V. I. Maydebura. At first glance, that manager appeared to have everything -- knowledge, competency, and initiative. But he proved to have a shortage of ideological conviction and moral integrity. It was established by an inspection that he had an inordinate concern about his personal -- or, stating it flatly, we could say unseemly -- transactions. Even though he had a well-appointed apartment in the city, he used figureheads to build a two-story private home in the suburbs. In the construction he used transportation and machinery from the experimental farm that was subordinate to him, and also used association workers. The finale to this history was completely predictable -- the manager who had overstepped the proper bounds was relieved of his duties and expelled from the party.

The criterion for judging every worker's political maturity is his attitude toward criticism. A large number of reflections, for example, were caused by the consideration at the buro of the party's obkom of the report from the Baryshevskiy raykom concerning the rate of fulfillment of the guide lines suggested by the CPSU Central Committee and the Ukrainian CP Central Committee concerning the development of criticism and self-criticism. In the rayon, at plenums and sessions of the raykom buro, shortcomings were mentioned in a general form, and the work style was not subjected to any demanding analysis. There was a lack of publicity concerning the shortcomings that had been revealed. All this led to complacency and indifference. The obkom seriously corrected the secretaries and the buro of the party's raykom, expressed recommendations to other party committees, and directed attention to the need to analyze constantly the critical tone in every party organization.

This is required by the interests of the job at hand, by those difficult conditions in which, essentially speaking, the entire oblast lives and works today. The main efforts of party organizations are currently concentrated on resolving two interrelated tasks: the first is to guarantee high personal responsibility borne by all the cadres, and primarily the party cadres, for maintaining the spirit and cause of restructuring everywhere, and a healthy moral-political situation. The second is to form in every Communist -- from the manager to the ordinary worker -- a clear understanding of the political significance of the fulfillment of the national-economic plans and the socialist pledges for the current year and the five-year plan as a whole.

We are well aware that it is primarily the restructuring of one's own work, and the well thought-out, well-coordinated actions of the party's obkom, gorkoms, and raykoms, and primary party organizations along the entire chain of cadre work that will determine whether we will succeed in combining inseparably the political line of the CPSU Central Committee and the real life of labor collectives, and the entire population of the oblast, and in carrying out the responsible tasks that have been assigned by the 27th party congress.

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

POLTAVA OBKOM 1ST SECRETARY DISCUSSES CPSU CC JANUARY PLENUM

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 11 Feb 87 p 3

[Article by F. Morgun, CP Uk Poltava Obkom first secretary: "Dictated by Necessity: Thoughts of a Participant in the January CPSU Plenum"]

[Text] This Plenum was awaited anxiously and tensely by the entire country: with impatience and hope by those who devote all their energy to serving the highest ideals of socialism; and with hidden alarm by those who for many years were themselves a component part of the braking mechanism, which has led to dramatic events in political, economic, social and spiritual life.

Truth, as everyone knows, is singular. And at the January Plenum, the Leninist staff of the party spoke it honestly, uncompromisingly, and unambiguously. For the truth was needed in the same measure not only by those who had been fighting with stagnation and irresponsibility, but also by those who accepted sketchiness and oversimplification, who shrank from explaining and resolving the contradictions as the only proper course.

This truth concerns every economic and social sphere, every oblast in the geographic sense, every person and every collective, and every communist and non-party worker and minister.

It would be naive to presume that one newspaper article could take in or even touch upon all the questions raised by the Plenum. We will inevitably, day after day, be returning to its principal documents, to its historical analysis, and to its historical directives which will determine our future. Nor would it be proper to presume that once the Plenum has passed, has illuminated all the sore spots just like an x-ray, and has pointed out the directions to take, that now everything will move like clockwork. In order to achieve the desired results, it will be necessary to apply maximum effort and maximum energy--our minds and hearts--while dealing with the numerous obstacles which have taken shape in the economy, in the social and spiritual spheres, and in the theory and practice of socialism. Therefore, today I would like to dwell on only a few questions which, on the basis of the resolutions of the Plenum, must be resolved in an urgent manner.

"Reconstruction," said M.S. Gorbachev in his report, "is a decisive turn toward science, and a businesslike partnership with its practical aspects for the purpose of achieving the highest end results." And one can find numerous confirmations of these words. At the Poltava ore-concentration combine

improved technology resulted in concentration of ores which had previously gone to waste. The collective of the famous KRAZ [Kremenchug Order of Lenin Motor Vehicle Works imeni 50th Anniversary of the Soviet Ukraine] is switching to production of a new family of vehicles, which will provide savings of 120 million rubles, free up 7,000 drivers, and save over 200,000 tons of fuel per year. The Central Committee's requirements--to save fuel, raw materials, and stocks--are thus being put into effect.

But for now such steps aren't easily taken. The tendency to "live in grand style" still makes itself known; for many years this tendency had become just about the main feature of the extensive direction of development of society. Designers feel especially free from restraints as they create what are often unwieldy and very costly projects, which do not provide the proper returns. Unfortunately one cannot speak of this in the past tense only. Quite often the very same wasteful technology is still being put into the new designs as well.

Thus for example, the new Prodmash [Food Machinery] plant is being erected in Poltava by order of Minlegpishchemash SSSR [USSR Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances]. In addition to the production area, a seven-story administration and service building is being built. I emphasize that at the same time they overdesigned to such an extent that two stories turned out to be "uninhabited." And right alongside, at a distance of not more than 50 paces, but nonetheless separated by a reinforced concrete departmental wall the "Tekhnologiya" scientific-production association of that very same ministry plans to put up an experimental plant which will manufacture and test equipment for subsequent manufacture at Prodmash. Here an administration center, service facilities, and a dining hall are also envisaged. I ask myself: could a true manager permit himself to even dream about such unjustifiable luxury, which is costing the state over 4 million rubles? No, he could not. But the authors of this project are not dreaming; they are lightheartedly turning the people's money into reinforced concrete! Oblast authorities have repeatedly expressed their disapproval of such unjustified squandering of assets. However, the ministry is stubbornly standing its ground.

In this connection I wish to stress that in many industrial branches one very frequently encounters an unhealthy competition for building ultra-luxurious administration buildings. Thus far, unfortunately, we have been unable to put a stop to this. And this at the same time when the lion's share of resources should be going for new schools, hospitals and apartment buildings. I'll briefly tell you about the Kremenchug plant for producing protein-vitamin concentrates of which I spoke in my speech at the Plenum; about a plant which cost more than 100 million rubles; about a plant which "devours" more electrical power and gas each year than all the kolkhozes and sovkhoses in the oblast--and in exchange provides 94,000 tons of additives to combination feeds, which drives up the costs of livestock production by tens of millions of rubles per year!

At the very same time we are unable to rebuild exceedingly outmoded enterprises in the meat and dairy and combination feeds industries. Funds and materials cannot be found for these purposes at Gosplan. And there are no subcontracting organizations.

We must carry out greater volumes of work than ever before to reconstruct and expand the motor vehicle, rail car, and wheel plants; steel mills and oil refineries; the Dormashina [road machinery repair] Associations, and other projects--but our construction organizations do not have sufficient capacity. And we need a new sugar mill like we need air. But, while we have the plans and the resources, we are forced to refrain from building this mill as well, because there is no one to build it.

I repeat, there is no one to build or to carry out badly needed repairs at old enterprises--because we are always having more and more new construction projects foisted on us.

We waste millions on uncompleted projects, while the kolkhozes and sovkhoses do not have plastic for their hothouses, and nothing with which to cover their fodder!

It was very properly stated at the 27th Congress that we must pay attention to the requests and arguments of the local authorities; but, as we see, this principle has not yet been properly enforced.

Agricultural problems, which have a direct bearing on the fulfillment of the Food Program, were brought out openly and to the fullest at the Plenum. In this connection I would like to once again speak about the Poltava problem, which has been a painful one for years. Many are aware of the fact that for more than ten years now, a progressive, waste-free, soil-preserving cultivation system has been introduced and is operating successfully in the oblast. Also well-known are the positive results achieved by the Poltavites.

Presently, practically all the arable fields on our kolkhozes and sovkhoses are cultivated without the use of plows. In the years since its introduction, the waste-free cultivation method has made it possible to produce an additional 2,757,000 tons of grain, and about 94,000 tons of fuel has been saved. The economic effectiveness of the non-plowing system has amounted to 487,200,000 rubles.

For field crop turnover as a whole, the new technology for soil cultivation has increased labor productivity by 37 percent, reduced expenditures for fuel by 38 percent, and decreased production expenses by 24 percent.

Unfortunately, during the period of assimilating the new technology we were forced to spend our efforts and nerves on not only business. A great deal of energy went to responding to various higher authorities for criminal slander. Fabrications which sow doubt and mistrust are still creeping through today. Therefore one has to protect oneself, and to publicly compare work results.

In 1985 Poltavites occupied first place for gross grain production in the republic, having at their disposal five oblasts in terms of area sown in grain crops, and crop yield indicators almost four centners higher than the average republic yield.

In comparison with the 10th Five-Year Plan, in the years 1981-1985--and this was a period of extreme drought--the grain crop yield in the oblast not only stood firm, it even increased, if only by a little.

During the same period this indicator declined in the seven surrounding oblasts.

In recent years the grain crop yield on the farms of our oblast has been higher than all of our neighbors in the Left Bank Ukraine by 3, 4 and 5 quintals per hectare.

But alas, thus far both the experience of the Poltavites and the problems facing them remain for the most part in the realm of practical work. The great agricultural science of our republic, whose task is to remain ahead of practical work, for a long time not only held the new system under suspicion, but also rejected it. In the best case it stood by silently, thinking that just maybe something will come of this. But instead of making a careful study long ago, and assisting in expanding and deepening the new technology for soil cultivation, office discussions were held, and experiments were continued on tiny plots.

I think it's already high time that the Southern Division of VASKhNIL [All Union Order of Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V.I. Lenin] adopted a new approach. Last December a group of students from the Higher Party School at the CPUk Central Committee came to see the Poltava Method [Poltavshchina]. More than 40 raykom first secretaries from 14 oblasts of the Ukraine visited the farms and met with many specialists and scientists--and the Poltava scientists, it must be stressed, from the very beginning have waged an uncompromising campaign for the new system. Next a meeting was held at the party obkom. And there we, the Poltavites, were criticized for not properly publicizing our experience, for the fact that they don't really know about it in other oblasts of the republic, and that the lack of knowledge among local specialists is delaying introduction of this important technology.

And after all, in holding up this waste-free shallow cultivation [plosko-rez] system to scorn, certain scientists who prefer working by the old methods are misleading the production workers--who, in accepting slander as truth, are not ordering the soil-conserving implements, and continue to produce plows. Therefore many oblasts and rayons are appealing to the Poltavites, saying "We want to introduce the new system on our farms--help us out with the equipment." And what can the Poltava Method do itself to acquire the scarce implements? It's like gathering one thread from each person to clothe a naked man. However, I'm convinced that it is precisely the adoption of this system which will provide that great grain harvest to the Ukraine, which was so ardently spoken of at the CPUk Central Committee December Plenum, and at the CPSU Central Committee meeting in January.

It was said at the Plenum that the task of energizing the human factor has become one of the main components of restructuring. In essence, unless this task is carried out, neither progress nor true socialist democracy are possible. Today this is not simply a slogan but an urgent necessity of the

times: every Soviet citizen should consider himself both the creator and the master. Both the fate of the smallest collective and that of the vast, boundless Motherland rest on this citizen of the State. Today we see the affirmation of these words with every step.

For many years G.I. Kolvashenko brought harm to the Zarya Kommunizma Kolkhoz in Novosanzharskiy Rayon. He never paid attention to the opinion of the communists, personally decided all questions, and was impatient with criticism. As a result, one after another four engineers, three livestock specialists, and several agronomists and economists left the kolkhoz. The kolkhoz has surrendered its far from prominent position, and last year the farm made a mess of the plans in terms of all indicators. At the party meeting, G.I. Kolvashenko received a vote of no confidence from the communists. He was removed from his position of kolkhoz chairman, and his CPSU membership was revoked.

And another example: Long before the brigade meeting at farm No 3 of the Kolkhoz imeni Gogol in Mirgorodskiy Rayon, certain kolkhoz members expressed their dissatisfaction with the leadership style of farm chief N.V. Nazarenko. The board knew that the dissatisfied parties were those who wanted to work less but earn more. And therefore, after taking counsel, the board and the kolkhoz party committee decided to hold a secret election. They printed up and distributed blank ballots to the brigade members. When the votes were counted it turned out that 73 out of the 78 members of the brigade had voted for their strict and principled chief. And there you have it--true democracy in action.

But still we have only begun to live in the new manner. Old and obsolete views are still strong, and the braking mechanism has not yet given up entirely. Nor has every ordinary member of the collective accepted the new with his heart and mind. Let's face it, too often the kolkhoz member or the worker was made to believe and then to lose faith. And maybe that's why at the Chervoniy Prapor Kolkhoz in Khorolskiy Rayon, which has 700 households, only 130 people came to a meeting. Moreover, even of those who came, most were more observers than participants in the main events. The attitude which they've developed was years in the making: "But who would ask our opinion? They've already done the thinking for us..." And it is with just such an attitude that we shall have to struggle.

And it's not only at the lowest levels; for such meetings reveal shortcomings first of all in the work of the party committees, the kolkhoz party committee, the raykom, and the corresponding department of the party obkom. We have not yet truly effected reforms here, and we have not brought the voice of the party to the very heart of the masses.

And it's not only in the given case. In self-criticism it is proper to say that there are still numerous deficiencies in our work. Enterprises which have switched to state acceptance since the first of the year are working feverishly. At times the terms for turning over projects under construction are not met. On some kolkhozes, as a result of unforgivable errors, the milk yield has declined. And we are far from satisfied on the subject of solving personnel questions.

In accordance with the restructuring, members of the Central Committee and party cadres are faced with completely justified and unprecedentedly sharp demands to tighten up the criteria for evaluating the work of each person. Life itself demands new thinking and a new approach: new and more business-like qualities are demanded of both the leadership and ordinary communists. The new cadre policy tolerates neither placidity, nor ostentatious demandingness and a false display of adherence to principle, and neither artificial stability, nor playing leap-frog with personnel. Our cadre policy is the Leninist ability to unite people; to support them, to convince them; to help them right the wrongs; to find the proper and the best way out of a complex situation; to take an interest in the education of the younger generation, and to see in them a natural continuance of the cause which we serve.

But do we truly put this very cadre policy into operation in the provinces? I can recall with bitterness an instance which was examined at the party obkom just after my return from the Plenum. Several years ago the board of the Zarya Kolkhoz in Velikobagachanskiy Rayon was headed by a young chairman, Viktor Filippovich Gerashchenko. It must be noted that he was heading a farm which was languishing, in the full meaning of the word. And he raised it up. The grain harvest on the kolkhoz for the last three years was not allowed to fall below 40 quintals per hectare. The corn harvest reached 86 quintals. In the last two-to-three years alone milk yield rose by 800 liters. In the unprecedentedly severe drought of last year the farm significantly overfulfilled its plan for grain sales. Plans for sale of livestock products and other kinds of agricultural production to the state were fulfilled and overfulfilled. The kolkhoz is confidently marching to the foremost position in the oblast. The wages of the kolkhoz members have radically increased; they are building new villages, and people are sticking to their business and to the collective. Naturally, the actions of the wise, independent chairman were noted by the party obkom. V.P. Gerashchenko was deservedly placed on the reserve list for promotion.

But some people were unable to find fulfillment in the successes of the young leader. These were primarily people who are fond of a life of ease. And here the chairman once again expressed his opinion on the necessity to somewhat reduce the number of personnel with "portfolio." These then began to keep him under close scrutiny: "Perhaps he'll stumble."

It's well known that only those who do nothing never make a mistake. And the situation presented itself. Upon request of the director of public catering the chairman agreed to sell a few peas instead of vegetables. Was that a mistake? Undoubtedly it was a mistake, although behind it there was neither personal gain nor personal interest on the part of the chairman. Here the party committee, the party raykom, or the buro of which he was a member, should have stopped and corrected the chairman, pointing out his mistake. But they didn't. A full-blown campaign was unleashed. The young communist was given a reprimand with an entry on his party card. And Gerashchenko was transferred, as chairman, to a different kolkhoz. They "rescued" him so to speak. Proceedings were instituted at the rayon prosecutor's office, but for the sake of fairness one should point out that the prosecutor, after making a careful study of the materials, refused to prosecute the case, for there was no corpus delicti in Gerashchenko's actions.

The question arises: Why did the administrators of the rayon allow this annoying distortion to take place? After all, the picture was clear from the very beginning. Unfortunately, neither the first secretary nor the remaining members of the buro delved into the root of the matter. Both the head of the raykom organizational department and the chairman of the oblast party committee, who were present at the meeting of the primary party organization, proceeded on the basis of an artificially-contrived situation. And as far as the communists on the kolkhoz are concerned, once again we see the aforementioned attitude, which was years in the making: "They've already done the thinking for us..." It's as if the members of the primary party organization had really forgotten how much effort and energy the young chairman had devoted to the kolkhoz. And having forgotten, they didn't even try to defend their leader, who left the farm, as they say, to get on in life.

I'm not for an all-forgiving attitude. But I do stand up for the fact that one random, unpremeditated mistake does not cancel the good deeds which a person has done, and that an undeserved stigma should not be placed on his good name. We should think about this every minute and every hour. This is what Lenin taught us, and it is what the party experience teaches us.

I deliberately return to the Plenum again and again, to the frank words uttered from the high rostrum. It is truly impossible to tell about everything which it revealed to us and in us. But the fact that it placed into the hands of the local cadres the capability to solve problems which were up to now unheard of in their depth and scale, and to take innovative decisions which permit maximum use of their material and intellectual resources is, I believe, understood by all. And now it depends only upon us, and how we make use of these capabilities.

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

LVOV'S DOBRIK ON SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION SYSTEM

Kiev POD ZNAMENEM LENINIZMA in Russian 24 Dec 86 pp 21-25

[Article by V. Dobrik, first secretary of the Lvov Obkom of the Ukrainian Communist Party, under "The Decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress Into Life" rubric: "Strengthening the Union of Science and Production"]

[Text] Our forward motion along the path of Communist creation is incumbent on intensification of the country's economy. And as emphasized at the 27th CPSU Congress, the primary means for accomplishing this task is through cardinal acceleration of scientific and technical progress, widespread introduction of new generation technology and radically new production methods capable of ensuring the greatest productivity and effectiveness.

Hence the tremendous emphasis placed by the Party on enhancing the integration of science and production. "...Science needs to address the needs of the national economy more vigorously," noted Comrade M. S. Gorbachev. "But it is equally important that production be turned face to face with science and be made as receptive as possible to scientific and technical advances." ("Materials on the 27th CPSU Congress". Moscow. Politizdat, 1986, p 28).

This principled aim must be carried out with the concomitant subordination of the oblast party organization's activities in guiding scientific and technical progress.

In implementing these tasks, our primary aim is to direct the efforts of our scientific and industrial subdivisions which make up the links of the "science-industry" system towards achieving a substantial final result and ensuring the rapid introduction of the most effective and advanced developments based on lasting technological principles.

Another crucial aspect is that of selecting expedient, economically feasible scientific and technical programs for implementation, programs which can produce the expected result at minimal cost. We are assigning science and industry the task of seeing the distant economic future and achieving real economic effectiveness from measures being implemented today.

No substantial acceleration of scientific and technical progress is possible without psychologically restructuring the work force on all levels and in all

sectors. Finally, the most important task of the party organizations is that of giving the work force the skill to think and work in new ways, in the spirit of acceleration, and of convincing each of them of the vital need for a radical turnaround towards intensive growth factors.

These are precisely the directions in which we are taking the search for the most effective forms and methods for leadership in scientific and technical progress and for strengthening the bonds of science with industry. The obkom and the party gorkoms and raykoms discuss such questions on a regular basis, and they are analyzed as well by the party organizations of enterprises, associations and scientific research and drawing-designing institutions. Commissions have been formed in most of the industrial party organizations to monitor the management's work in introducing new technology and improving output quality.

Our lecturers, propagandists, agitators and political information officers are making a substantial contribution towards improving the effectiveness of our scientific developments, reducing the time spent in devising advanced technology and introducing progressive production processes. The mass information media, including the large-circulation and wall presses, are infusing the effort in this area with a great deal of energy.

It might be well to mention that a well-defined system for controlling scientific and technical progress took shape as far back as the 10th Five-Year Plan period in the Lvov Oblast. It is based on rationally combining the sectorial and territorial aspects of administration by using the goal-program approach, which is based on interdepartmental and intersectorial goal-oriented programs for solving the most crucial scientific and technical problems.

A number of goal-oriented scientific-industrial and academic-scientific industrial associations have been formed on the initiative of the Party obkom to successfully implement the programs. Interdepartmental scientific industrial complexes have been set up to coordinate their work and to organize widespread interdepartmental collaboration. The representatives of the boards--the administrative organs of the complexes--are made up of well-known scientists, with deputies are who are responsible employees from the sectorial departments of the Party obkom.

In taking part in the work done by the boards, the Party's obkom representatives persistently strive to implement a unified line to accelerate scientific and technical progress, and see that the agreed-upon decisions of the numerous partners are worked out. Soviets of secretaries from the primary party organizations of the enterprises making up the goal-oriented associations are also helping to enhance the effectiveness of introducing completed developments into industry and to eliminate interdepartmental hurdles. Practice has shown that these organizational forms comprise an effective means for the party to influence the strengthening of the ties between science and industry.

Within the Lvov Oblast there are presently 7 interdepartmental scientific and industrial complexes in operation (instrument-building machine-building, chemical-producing, geological and geophysical, agricultural, social and

economic and the Zdorovye Complex), as well as 30 interdepartmental goal-oriented scientific and industrial, and academic-scientific-industrial associations.

The work of the interdepartmental scientific and industrial complexes and their associations has helped to solve a number of complex scientific and technical problems in the instrument- and machine-building sectors, agriculture and medicine, has improved the effectiveness of geological and geophysical operations related to the search for minerals, has improved recovery and refining technology and has aided in working out recommendations on the rational utilization of manpower and recreational resources in the UkSSR's western areas.

During the 11th Five-Year Plan period, and within the framework of these interdepartmental complexes, 750 developments with an economic effect of over R400 million were introduced at an outlay of R52.8 million. Specifically, they developed a highly-efficient drilling tool for the coal industry, a number of new instruments, electronic multi-purpose diagnostic complexes, subsurface coal gasification technology etc.

The work of the interdepartmental complexes and associations has been found helpful in the utilization of material-technical and manpower resources in coordinated fashion to solve the most urgent scientific and technical problems. Work is now being planned in integrated fashion and existing organizational procedures for scientific and industrial collaboration are being used--industrial contracts, contracts for creative cooperation, commonly used laboratories, and so on.

Interdepartmental collectives of scientists and production workers from a variety of scientific and technical fields have been formed, and have been united by a common purpose. This has markedly raised the scientific and technical level of our developments, has improved their fundamental nature and practical purposefulness and has abbreviated the time of the entire cycle, from the initial research to the results being used in production.

The experiment in setting up interdepartmental goal-oriented scientific and industrial and academic-scientific-industrial associations and complexes to implement goal-oriented scientific and technical programs has been looked into by the CPSU Central Committee and approved by the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, the UkSSR Permanent Republican Commission for Improving the Administration of the Economy, the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium and the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Presidium.

We expect even greater results from the interdepartmental scientific and industrial complexes and associations during the current five-year plan period. The boards of these complexes have done considerable work in formulating scientific and technical programs aimed at finding solutions to the most pressing problems in the economies of the oblast and the republic's western region. In so doing, the primary tasks have been made part of the oblast's scientific and technical programs, which have been named Material Intensiveness, Power Complex, Agrocomplex, Labor, Improving Quality of Labor Potential, Transport and Carpathians. In the process of drawing up the

programs, consideration was given to some critical remarks to the Party obkom which were expressed last year at a meeting of the Council for Furthering Scientific and Technical Progress, under the auspices of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

All these developments have a clear-cut and practical purposefulness and we feel that implementing them will have much to do with intensifying the economy. But it should be noted that within the framework of the interdepartmental scientific and industrial complexes and associations there are a number of problems related to the interaction of science and industry which do not always find solutions. Thus, despite the fact that they have now been in operation for almost 10 years, we have as yet to succeed in establishing really close creative ties with the ministries and departments or their leading scientific research institutions. And the establishment of such ties would give us a better idea of the prospects for developing the sector and would correspondingly structure its efforts to find solutions to the problems of renovating and retooling those enterprises located within the oblast.

There are, of course, a great many other problems related to the work of the "science-industry" system. This, in turn, requires that we seek new approaches in solving them, and primarily from the Party Obkom Council for Furthering Scientific and Technical Progress.

The selection of specific procedures and methods for controlling scientific and technical progress which would comply with the notion of restructuring depends on the goal of setting up, on unified methodological and systematic bases, a system for the planning, forecasting and economic accompaniment of all measures aimed at intensifying the oblast economy through scientific and technical progress, and setting up and providing an effective system for seeing that programs on different levels and planes are implemented.

For five years, the primary coordinating document used in carrying out this work has been the Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Scientific Research and for Intensification of the Oblast Economy Through Scientific and Technical Progress, which is made up of two basic sections: one concerning the development of basic and applied research and the other on intensification of the national economy of the oblast through scientific and technical progress.

Implementation of this plan should not only intensify the national economy through scientific and technical progress during the current five-year plan period, but should also ensure enough work in progress for national economic programs for the next five-year plan period in the form of those scientific and technical developments completed by the interdepartmental scientific and industrial complexes.

If we have accumulated a certain amount of experience in the course of two five-year plan periods in devising an integrated plan for developing basic and scientific research, then new ways for finding solutions are required in preparing an integrated plan for intensifying the national economy through scientific and technical progress.

The most important thing here is that we use all possible levers for territorial control of scientific and technical progress, and that we make use of our very best experience in this matter. Acting on the example of the Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast party organizations, we have set up a system of territorial intersectorial complexes (TMK) throughout the industrial sectors, headed by leading organizations (leading scientific research institutes, as a rule), territorial interindustrial associations (TMO) headed by basic enterprises (leading production associations, as a rule) and organizations for economic accompaniment (usually: VUZ faculties and departments from Lvov, specializing in economics).

The task of reorienting science to the needs of industry, and reorienting industry towards the creation of conditions favorable to introducing scientific developments requires unified organizational and systematic economic support in the implementation of scientific and technical programs. The task of working up appropriate methodological materials in compliance with the decision of the Party Obkom's Council for Furthering Scientific and Technical Progress was given to the Oblast Planning Commission working in tandem with the Lvov Division of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Economics.

A great deal of work has also been done with directors, leading specialists, and party committee secretaries of production associations and enterprises in agreeing on the main points of corresponding scientific and technical programs and on the balance and validity of each of the programs' targets. This was done so as to reach the objectives set for the five-year plan period. On the initiative of the Council for Furthering Scientific and Technical Progress, a consultative center was set up to deal with problems of organizational and methodical support in developing intensification plans. Staff employees of the Party Obkom and Oblispolkom and scientists from the UkSSR Academy of Sciences' Western Scientific Center participate in this work.

The Councils for Furthering Scientific and Technical Progress, which operate under the auspices of party gorkoms and raykoms are playing an ever-increasing role in strengthening the integration of science and industry. Take, for example, the city of Lvov.

Here, the Party Gorkom's Council for Furthering Scientific and Technical Progress applies skill and energy in coordinating and directing the efforts of the party organizations of scientific, drawing and designing and industrial subdivisions of the city's national economic complex towards raising the technical level and markedly improving output quality and towards finding and using as many of their internal productive resources as possible. Integrated goal-oriented programs for the manufacture of basic products have become the specific form for accomplishing these tasks.

In the process of implementing these programs, a great deal of work has been done in developing and initiating series production of new types and models of products, in developing and introducing advanced production process and in improving systemic methods for controlling production and output quality.

Thus, implementation of the Televizor Program allowed the efforts of scientific and industrial subdivisions of the instrument-building complex to be joined with the talents of allied enterprises in producing a new generation of color television sets. The sets are noted for their radically new element base and their advanced design resolutions, their improved reliability and their markedly reduced weight.

The Party Gorkom's Council for Furthering Scientific and Technical Progress gave a great deal of help to the board and party organization of Lvov's Konveyer Production Association in their efforts to retool and renovate their production facilities. As a result of their joint efforts, they succeeded not only in bringing about a considerable improvement in their output quality and in increasing their output, but also managed to stock up an excellent backlog for the future.

The reason for success here was their basing of the enterprise's retooling on the comprehensive introduction of scientific and technical breakthroughs and advanced methods for organizing production. The Organizational and Economic Program for Comprehensive Improvement and Development of Control Over Operational Efficiency and Quality, which was developed here conjointly with scientific workers and which was intended for the period up to 1990, had already derived an economic effect totalling more than R400,000 by last year. And the collective is concluding the first year of the current five-year plan period with substantial advances as well.

We could have presented many more examples which attest to the fact that the effectiveness of the work being done by the party organs to further integrate science and industry and to speed up the introduction of scientific developments into practice depends in great measure on how efficiently the Party's gorkom and raykom Councils for Furthering Scientific and Technical Progress operate. That is why questions of improving the work done by these councils are constantly under the scrutiny of the oblast party committee.

It is common knowledge that even with a well-tuned mechanism for controlling scientific and technical progress, success in implementing its breakthroughs depends on personnel.

Reasoning from this, the Party obkom, gorkoms and raykoms place particular emphasis on consolidating the leading sections of skilled specialists and veteran organizers who are capable of working in new situations with no drop in output. The above organizations are increasing the exactingness on the work force concerning the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, and are resolutely bringing to a halt any manifestation of inertia or irresponsibility in this matter.

So it was that at a meeting of the Party Obkom Bureau in October of this year the problem of the poor effectiveness of production design and scientific developments in the All-Union Experimental Design Institute of Motor Vehicle Building was discussed, as were the serious shortcomings tolerated by the All Union Scientific Research and Design Institute of Sulfur (both of these institutes are located in Lvov) as well as by the Sera Production Association in Yavorov in their planning and putting capacities for underground sulfur

melting and sulfur ore extraction into operation. The bureau has made those guilty of these shortcomings responsible to the party, and has ordered the party committees and the directors of the above organizations to take extraordinary measures in order to radically correcting the situation.

For the purpose of enhancing party guidance of the functioning of the "science-industry" system, a persistent effort has been directed at the organizational and political consolidation of the primary party organizations of all links of the above system. Specifically, in 64 of the party organizations of institutions and enterprises which make up the scientific and industrial complexes, 36 party committees, 592 shop-level party organizations and 1,436 party groups were formed. Recently, the number of party members working in these organizations has markedly increased, and includes doctors and candidates of sciences.

It is with a great deal of attention that party committees have approached the important question of bringing highly competent experts and principled party members into state product-acceptance agencies which, after 1 January 1987, will be in operation in 22 of the oblast's enterprises.

Increased requirements have now been placed on party members from among the ranks of scientific and engineering and technical employees. They have been called upon to establish an atmosphere of creative exploration and a high degree of responsibility for accelerating scientific and technical progress in their collectives. The party organizations submit these questions for discussion at party meetings, where they systematically listen to reports from leading workers, scientists and experts regarding their personal contributions to the development and introduction of new technology and advanced production methods, to the intensification of production, to improvements in quality and to expansion of the product array and on more ways to economize.

These reports, when combined with other means of effecting education, play a substantial role in the formation of such qualities as a sensitivity for that which is new, the readiness to take responsibility for oneself, the urge to learn to work better, self-criticism and a demanding attitude towards oneself and others.

One of the most crucial problems, and one which has drawn the attention of the party organizations, is that of preparing the work force for retraining. In fact, analysis shows that the growth rates for workers' occupational skill levels are lagging behind the level of available production jobs. And even among engineering and technical personnel, as evidenced by socialist research data, 58.4 percent are in need of retraining because their occupational skill levels are not up to present-day requirements.

This is why we have begun restructuring the system for raising skill levels, which up to now was basically of an informational nature. Leading scientists and experienced workers are now being sent into all sections of the system and such procedures for studying as business games, probational periods for experts in advanced industrial collectives etc., are being widely implemented. At the same time, party organizations have begun to be stricter about calling to account those industrial directors who fail to take appropriate steps to

raise the skill levels of their personnel.

It is understandable that within the framework of an article only certain aspects of the effort underway by the party organizations to strengthen the bond between science and industry can be discussed. There are, no doubt, still a great many unresolved problems, shortcomings and oversights in this matter. We will labor unceasingly to eliminate them and to accelerate the rates of scientific and technical progress. To do so, we will rely on the initiative of our party members, increasing the battle-readiness of our party organizations and putting into action what is commonly referred to as the human factor, i.e., enthusiasm, daring, bold thinking and the patriotic striving of our workers to elevate the quality of their work in all areas of Communist creation.

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

ACTIVE ROLE URGED FOR WORKERS IN PARTY CADRE APPOINTMENTS

Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN in Russian No 3, Feb 87 [signed to press 20 Jan 87]
pp 29-32

[Article by Yu. Kovalev, first secretary of the CPSU Omsukchanskiy raykom:
"The Appointment of Cadres: Rely on the Labor Collectives"]

[Text] Magadan Oblast--The increased demands that are placed on personnel today have also conditioned fundamental changes in the party raykom's work and forced us to self-critically analyze our past activity and reexamine certain forms and methods of the selection, assignment and training of executive personnel at various levels--forms and methods that had previously seemed unshakable. For example, how is it that a number of responsible comrades with years of service and experience have openly given up in the face of new tasks and proven incapable of making bold decisions and are unsuited toward work under conditions of expanded democracy? Why, in a situation of increased exactingness and stiffened control, have those who previously walked with their heads proudly raised, sat on presidiums and gave tips to others, found themselves among the stragglers?

These are difficult questions; each concrete instance may have its own explanation. But if we are talking about the big picture, then it must be confessed: the root of all these troubles lies in mistakes made by party committees and bureaus, and by the party raykom. Also at fault is the simplified approach to the appointment of executives in which a "favorable" application is the primary criterion for evaluating the candidate's qualities, as well as leniency toward those who proved to be infected with an authoritarian, so to speak, "arbitrary" style of management and who are rude to people. It must also be confessed that trust in the cadres has frequently been substituted with heedless credulity, and in essence, lack of supervision--something that has led to report-padding, hoodwinking and gimmickry.

All of these shortcomings, the consequence of which were fundamental errors and mistakes in the rayon's social and economic development and which were brought to light with complete clarity during the restructuring that has taken place, have been comprehensively analyzed at plenary sessions and sessions of the raykom's bureau, and discussed in the primary party organizations. In this manner, a certain mindset geared toward the establishment of new

approaches to the implementation of personnel policy, the democratization of this process in every possible way, the ensurance of extensive public openness and frankness, and general and continuous supervision of the cadres' activity from below as well as from above, has been created.

Just what new features have been introduced into this activity? What difficulties must be overcome in the struggle against the inertia and stagnation established by ingrained routine?

Take, for example, the nomination of employees for executive positions. In the past, it must be confessed, the CPSU raykom most often appointed personnel itself, without paying much heed to the labor collective's opinion in the matter. It was felt that we had more experience and greater professionalism--we had no need for suggestions. At the same time, we were sometimes guided only by data from an application. Of course, both now and in the future, it is important and necessary to take into consideration both the experience and education of the nominated individual, as well as his years of practical work experience. But after all, it is every bit as important to know what sort of organizational skills and moral outlook the employee has, how he structures his relations with subordinates, and how he conducts his family life. It is precisely this sort of information that we most often lack--and it leads to serious mistakes.

Several years ago the party raykom recommended for the position of director of a timber-processing plant Ye. Nazarov, whose application raised no doubts and it seemed, required no additional checkup of all his qualities. However, having occupied his executive position, instead of thoughtful, organizational and educative work in the collective, he began to settle accounts with those who didn't suit him and with those who had their own opinion and were not afraid to voice it to other people. By word, he called for the strengthening of discipline, but by deed he organized a drinking bout on the job. Dissatisfaction grew among the specialists and workers, but the raykom failed to openly and directly admit its mistakes, and limited itself to half-hearted measures: having condemned the executive's action and reprimanded him at a bureau session, it failed to resolve the question of the director's dismissal (its own candidate for the position!). The working people themselves, who expressed distrust of the executive, insisted on a radical resolution of the question. Ye. Nazarov was dismissed from his position.

In the recent past, due to the fact that the raykom did a poor job of studying the businesslike, political and moral qualities of the comrades it nominated for executive positions, 16 people had to be relieved of their duties. But after all, it could have been and would have been completely different if we had sought the advice of communists beforehand with respect to a given candidate.

I want to note an important feature of restructuring: not only party workers and activists, but also rank-and-file communists are today pondering the mistakes and errors that have been committed, as well as questions of improving work. The growth of their interest consists in the fact that the labor collectives and primary party organizations have been headed by people who enjoy genuine prestige--courageous and decisive people capable of thinking

and acting in a new way. Instances have increased in which party members, exhibiting independence and adherence to principle, convincingly and in a timely manner corrected the raykom's opinion with respect to a given candidate when it was incorrect.

For example, when, during the course of recent reports and elections, A. Vasilyev, chairman of a party commission under the party raykom, recommended that the communists of the Elektroteploset enterprise again elect as secretary Senior Economist M. Yelayeva, whose candidacy was reviewed beforehand in the rayon CPSU committee, the party members declined this suggestion. They said: No, she is not suited for this position. She works with a constant eye on the manager and avoids making decisions on acute questions. So the communists elected their own leader, the worker G. Rizanov, a person with less experience, but one who had displayed good skills as an organizer and a tactful and concerned comrade. Relying on the trust and support of the party members, the new secretary energetically got down to business.

How were these earlier events assessed? Without question, as a local emergency and as an impingement on the authority of the higher party agency. I will also admit that even now there is a feeling of discontent. But, in and of itself, acknowledgement is already being made that we did not properly study the situation in the collective and did not analyze the merits and shortcomings of possible candidates for the secretary's position. The communists taught us a good lesson.

At the same time, we could not fail to ask the question: Why had the raykom previously placed in this position a secretary who lacked initiative and who did not enjoy prestige among communists? After all, we knew about the secretary's weaknesses but pretended that we did not notice them. The fact of the matter is that M. Yelayeva was obliging and convenient for the apparatus' employees, and she did not push on issues or irritate with criticism. This sort of secretary makes less trouble.

Analyzing this and similar cases and pondering the causes of the mistakes that were committed, you come to the conclusion that they were predestined by hasty, simplified approaches to the very important question of personnel and by stereotyped thinking and secrecy in adopting decisions.

The task has been set: to raise to a qualitatively new level work in evaluating the businesslike, political and moral qualities of candidates nominated in the raykom itself and in its departments, and, through a compulsory procedure, to rely on the opinion of the primary party organization and labor collectives in the resolution of personnel questions. After all, only in this way will we succeed in selecting and nominating for executive positions the most worthy people--those who have greater actual accomplishments and practical results, and who are distinguished by their ability to get work running smoothly, their attentiveness toward people and their personal modesty.

Experience gained in work with personnel by the party organization of the Dukatskiy Mining and Concentrating Combine deserves attention. There they began by conducting preliminary discussions of the candidates at workers'

meetings during the process of nominating employees for a higher position. Criticism is frequently addressed toward the candidates and the comrades honestly and straightforwardly point out the strong and weak points of the employee and express their wishes.

Involving a greater number of the combine's employees in the selection of executives introduced a new creativity in this complex and important process and deepened its democratic content. As a result, mistakes in determining the most worthy candidates are being committed much less frequently. It is important to note that in the election of an executive from among several candidates, communists and the working people support, first and foremost, innovative, courageous, energetic employees who are singled out by their desire to find extraordinary solutions to pressing problems--employees who begrudge others neither their efforts nor their time. Now, no matter which executive at the enterprise is in question, each one progressed through the school of election work consisting of party, trade-union and komsomol agencies, and many fulfill responsibilities as deputies, lecturers or propagandists. They have frequently reported to comrades at party meetings and have always been, as they say, in the public eye. Thus, when it was suggested that the laborers of the Omsukchanskiy gold extraction factory, which is a part of the combine, nominate the director, they settled on--and the raykom supported their proposal--L. Kulavskaya, a highly qualified specialist and energetic social activist. Incidentally, she is still the only woman among top executives of Magadan oblast's mining enterprises.

The nomination to complex and responsible sections of young people, to whom A. Kuskov, the enterprise's director, and leading specialists skillfully render assistance on a timely basis--is a distinctive feature of work with personnel by the party committee and primary party organization of the mining and concentrating combine.

By strengthening supervision over the activity of our personnel and increasing exactingness toward communists for the fulfillment of their prescribed commitments, we are striving to more widely disseminate and improve the practice of CPSU members' reporting to their comrades. At the same time, we are not rushing after numbers or trying to directly include every individual, which often verges on formalism and is transformed into a sort of production-line system of approving stock characteristics. It is important to single out a circle of people on whom it would make sense to concentrate special attention.

In particular, we established strict supervision over the frequency and quality of reports by top executives, as well as party members who are passive in their production and public life and who show signs of indifference and dependence.

Why is heightened attention devoted precisely to these categories of communists? As far as executives are concerned, this isn't the first year that the need to hear these reports has been at issue. But talk is cheap when the fulfillment of one's recommendations are not properly monitored. So it turns out that during all of 1985, only one in every ten directors, or two-thirds of middle-level executives reported to their collectives.

In such a state of affairs, people started becoming convinced that under the new conditions as well, the top man is still outside the purview of the collective. The situation needed to be decisively resolved. In the past year the raykom instructed the primary party organizations to increase their adherence to principle and to more actively address questions of the need for top executives to report to the working people. The situation changed radically.

We drew numerous instructive conclusions based on the results of reports by executives of enterprises and agricultural operations. These conclusions by no means always elicited pleasure. Certain important comrades fenced themselves off completely from rank-and-file employees with the walls of their offices and did not concern themselves with ensuring that their subordinates think creatively and independently, introduce suggestions and moreover, criticize--all of this with the connivance or silent agreement of party committees and party bureaus of the primary party organizations and, of course, it must be confessed, the raykom.

Thus, no observations were made and no criticism was voiced during discussion of the report by Yu. Khamayev, director of the New Path state farm. Nevertheless, soon after the meeting he had to be dismissed for deficiencies in his management of the agricultural operation. Communists of the Dukatskiy geological survey expedition did not see the shortcomings in the activity of its director, V. Natalenko, although, in our opinion, there were ample causes there for a sharp, critical discussion. Discussion of the report by Yu. Lepetchenko, director of the Omsukchanskiy mine, proceeded in completely laudatory tones.

Nor is proper exactingness always displayed in examining the offenses of executive communists. Over the past one and one-half years, the raykom's bureau rescinded, as liberal, decisions of the primary party organizations that they had made on the basis of the results of an examination of the personal affairs of 14 communists. Five former executives--as a result of changes to the decisions of the primary party organization--were expelled from the ranks of the CPSU.

In light of all this, we are persistently striving to eliminate shortcomings in work to increase the combativeness and independence of the primary party organizations and to educate communists as exacting and principled political warriors. Now we understand that we have not devoted adequate attention to the development of criticism and self-criticism, and to the creation of an atmosphere of frankness and public openness, Bolshevik straightforwardness and honesty. We are now trying to more deeply scrutinize the state of affairs in each collective, to support energetic, searching people, and to assess in a timely manner any attempts to suppress criticism, and we are enhancing the role and importance of party meetings and commissions to monitor the administration's activity.

But, as the first experience of restructuring attests, undesirable distortions are also sometimes permitted in strengthening upbringing work with communists. Certain primary party organizations, having focused increased attention on the

activity of executives and having increased exactingness toward them, at the same time have weakened control over how rank-and-file CPSU members are working and how they are fulfilling their prescribed commitments. The negative consequences to which such costs may lead can be attested to by just the following fact. At the Omsukchanskiy mine in recent times six executives at different levels reported to the party members, but mining worker and CPSU member V. Bayushev, as they say, stayed beyond arm's length. He was absent on a regular basis and drank heavily. At the time he was expelled from the ranks of the CPSU, he had received no party reprimands.

A great deal of work remains to be done to correct mistakes that have been committed, to eradicate dependent attitudes, and to strive to ensure that cadres at each section act creatively and energetically and possess their own opinion and courageously take greater responsibility. We see in reliance on the primary party organizations and labor collectives an effective means for training and educating executives capable of facing the increased tasks of acceleration.

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13149

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

SECRET BALLOT, MULTI-CANDIDATE ELECTIONS HELD IN UZBEK RAYON

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Mar 87 p 2

[Article by M. Gribinyuchenko, secretary of the Uzbek CP Narynskiy Raykom, Namangan Oblast, under rubric "Party Life: Lessons of Democracy": "Let the People Decide: By Secret Ballot the Kolkhoz Members Have Chosen From a Large Number of Candidates All the Brigade Leaders in Narynskiy Rayon"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] Recently T. Dzhakhanov, a machine operator on the Kommunizm Kolkhoz, dropped in at the party's raykom. He talked a while about kolkhoz matters, and then he began discussing a painful subject: certain brigade leaders were not "nitting it off" with their collectives. He reliably reported that the brigade members included more authoritative peasants whom the other people would eagerly follow.

To tell the truth, this was not the first time that we had heard such statements. There had also been other warning signals: conflicts kept arising between members of the collectives and the brigade leaders whom we had recommended and approved at sessions of the raykom buro. T. Dzhakhanov's visit finally convinced us that it was time to get rid of the practice of assigning leaders of the cotton-growing brigades. We repeatedly asked people for their advice and decided to conduct everywhere an election to the positions of low-level commanders.

On any farm the brigade is the main production subdivision. In addition, at the present time practically all our brigades have changed over to the contract method. And under those conditions many, many things depend upon the leader, including the welfare of the kolkhoz members, as well as the farm's economy as a whole. In their own collective, people have a better knowledge than anywhere else of who is worth what. Why, then, should we not resolve the cadre problems there by democratic means?

Relying upon the people's opinion, the party committees and the board of governors of the farms nominated for the position of leader in each brigade not one person, but three persons. A very attentive approach was taken to selecting the candidates. First, all the current brigade leaders were included in the lists. With regard to their economic efficiency we did not have any special claims against them, because all the brigades have coped with

the cotton-procurement plan. In addition to them, the ballot included the names of the peasants who shown themselves to be the best machine operators, experienced irrigation workers, and agricultural specialists.

The public in the rayon was given ample notice about the forthcoming election. Lists of the candidates' names were posted in prominent places. The party committee secretaries and the kolkhoz chairmen spoke over the radio concerning their candidates. I feel that, prior to conducting the election, the brigade members were given the opportunity to think very thoroughly about their decision, and to weigh everything carefully. Before the election every candidate spoke to the kolkhoz members in the brigade, giving a brief statement of how he understood the tasks confronting the particular collection and what he would do if elected as their leader. After their "campaign" speeches, the candidates were required to answer the most unexpected questions asked by the kolkhoz members. And the people were able to convince themselves about whose platform was the most well thought-out.

The election was conducted by secret vote. In every brigade the ballot listed the names of all three candidates. The kolkhoz members were also given the opportunity, when voting, to write in the name of any other candidate. In the area where the voting was carried out, booths containing ballot boxes were set up. After the votes were cast, a vote-counting commission made up of persons from the very same brigade tallied up the votes and reported the results in the presence of the entire collective.

We raykom workers were present at the elections and we observed them, as it were, as outsiders. I would like to share certain observations that I consider to be interesting ones.

On the Kommunizm Kolkhoz, for the past three years Brigade No. 7 has been headed by Communist Party member M. Madaminov. He is an experienced, initiatory, exacting leader. Last year his brigade fulfilled the cotton-procurement plan in five work days, and harvested by machines more than 90 percent of the harvest that was grown. The production costs per quintal of cotton were 32 rubles, with a harvest yield of 39 quintals per hectare. That was an outstanding result!

Nevertheless, in the course of the harvest, M. Madaminov made the following request to the kolkhoz board of governors and party committee: "After the harvest, please relieve me of the duties as brigade leader." He complained that his health had become worse. However, he was not allowed to resign.

And when the results of the secret vote were announced, it turned out that the absolute majority of the brigade members had still voted for Madaminov. Showing some difficulty in conquering his excitement, he thanked the kolkhoz members and stated that he would not fail to take the collective's opinion into consideration and that he would try to find within himself the strength to justify the confidence that they had shown to him.

On the Oktyabr' Kolkhoz, K. Egamberdiyev worked for a long time as a brigade leader. In the opinion of the kolkhoz members, he was a very exacting and just leader, and he showed concern for the people. But ten years ago, by a

decision of the board of governors, he had been incorrectly removed from the position that he occupied. In the course of the election Egamberdiyev was included among the candidates by the people on his kolkhoz, and the brigade collective unanimously voted for him.

Of course, there were all kinds of "surprises," the analysis of which forces us party workers to change our style of working with cadres. For example, on the Kolkhoz imeni Karl Marx, Ya. Kuchkarov has been working as brigade leader since 1981. In the election he was refused a vote of confidence. As ascertained from discussions with the kolkhoz members, the reason was Kuchkarov's personal qualities. Using as a pretext his high exactingness, he frequently insulted the kolkhoz members, spoke crudely to them, and belittled their dignity. He had his favorites and he distributed the work unjustly. He did not eat out of the same pot that the rest of the brigade ate out of, but preferred, don't you see, special dishes. For approximately the same reasons the people on the Oktyabr' Kolkhoz decided not to elect Kh. Zhalalov as brigade leader. And yet we at the rayon committee considered them to be experienced leaders, and believed that the people valued them.

The following example is also an instructive one. On Kolkhoz imeni 50-letiya SSSR, at the personal insistence of the board of governors chairman T. Bektimirov, Kh. Mirzayev was recommended as brigade leader. Previously he had worked as a deputy chairman, but he had grossly violated discipline and had abused his official position. For example, at the height of the cotton harvest, he had withdrawn kolkhoz members to build his own house. In the course of the voting, justice was restored: all 30 members of the brigade voted against Mirzayev.

Now the results of the elections have been tallied up. We did not organize anything--not even getting the people to the voting booths. Nevertheless, for the rayon as a whole, more than 90 percent of the people, and in some places even 100 percent, came to the meetings. Out of the 131 incumbent brigade leaders, 105 were re-elected. But of them only 24 persons received the absolute support. The names of 20 additional persons were written in by the kolkhoz members themselves in the course of the voting, and seven of them gathered a majority of the votes. A total of 133 brigade leaders were elected (two brigades were newly created), including 87 party members and 12 women. The chief task that was posed by the raykom, the farm party committees, and the kolkhoz boards of governors when carrying out that work was fulfilled. We had achieved the informal, self-interested participation of the labor collectives in the discussion both of the personal qualities of the future commanders of production, and the problems that they would have to solve.

At the same time, the elections that have been held also provide a large amount of food for thought. It is now absolutely obvious to us: the pure questionnaire approach when assigning brigade leaders does not always prove to be justified in the eyes of the kolkhoz members, inasmuch as a number of persons who, at first glance, seemed to have "ideal" credentials on paper were not given a vote of confidence. It has become obvious that in a number of instances, when we approached the task of assigning brigade leaders, we were guided by superficial ideas concerning their on-the-job and moral qualities, and also sometimes by the personal sympathies of the officials.

As a rule, the kolkhoz members cast their votes for exacting, objective, conscientious, solicitous, knowledgeable, innovational brigade leaders. And, conversely, people who were spineless, unprincipled, incapable of making independent, bold decisions, who had a tendency toward toadyism and fraudulent methods, people who were boorish, superficial, or bureaucratic, or had placed their personal interests above the interest of the collective, were voted out.

Other brigade leaders who also failed to find support among the workers and thus are already "ex-brigade leaders" include those who, by striving for plan fulfillment at any price, kept themselves in good graces for years with the leadership on the kolkhozes and in the rayon.

During the elections we also encountered the following problem. In accordance with the current model by-laws for the kolkhozes, the brigade leaders are elected by open ballot. Some people claim that we deliberately decided to violate the by-laws. It seems to us that this paragraph has become obsolete, and the forthcoming All-Union Congress of Kolkhoz Members apparently will remove that barrier. The secret ballot is necessary. Life itself requires it.

Currently we have a new idea: to elect the farm managers by secret ballot. The people support us. Recently the first election was held on Kolkhoz imeni Ilicn. Three candidates were running for the position of chairman: the secretary of the farm's party committee, T. Abdurakhimov; the chairman of the rayon's KNK (People's Control Committee), U. Askarov; and the previous manager, N. Tadzhibayev. By secret ballot the absolute majority re-elected N. Tadzhibayev.

In a word, we are learning how to work under the conditions of democratization. We are attempting, as we are required by the January Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, to support every new growth of life experience that appears at such time. And what interesting and beneficial study this has been!

5075

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MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

READERS ANSWER QUESTIONNAIRE ON NEWSPAPER EFFECTIVENESS

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 3 Feb 87 pp 1, 3

[Article by S. Ryabov: "Readers' Advice: Answers from Subscribers to a PRAVDA UKRAINY Questionnaire"]

[Text] What do readers of PRAVDA UKRAINY expect of the newspaper in 1987? How has the editorial staff performed in the past year? To find out, the newspaper in November 1986 published the customary readers' questionnaire.

The questions in the questionnaire were not simple ones, and only those who have been reading the newspaper regularly and want to keep up with events occurring in this country and abroad were able to answer them specifically. Generally, the questions were intended for prepared and active readers who see in the newspaper a reliable friend and good adviser. Responding to the questionnaire were workers, kolkhoz farmers, scholars, teachers, jurists, communists and those who are not party members, men and women. A more precise portrait of the readership is difficult to put together since many did not indicate their biographical data.

The first thing that pleased us was a marked growth in the social activity of readers. One comes to this conclusion by comparing the responses to this questionnaire and the last one. The processes of renewal and restructuring that have been taking place in this country since the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the 27th party congress have met with a warm response on the part of the Soviet people. The first question, therefore, regarding how the newspaper has reflected the progress of restructuring work by party organizations and the soviets of people's deputies, is of special importance for the editorial staff, and it turned out to be the central focus of readers' attention. A few characteristic statements are as follows: "The newspaper writes of the pace of restructuring in each issue," states N.F. Khabchuk of Zhitomir, a PRAVDA UKRAINY subscriber since 1950. "At party bureau sessions, as well as at party meetings, we often discuss published articles and apply the best of the experience revealed in the newspaper."

"It would be better if there were more examples given from the experience of work," Zh.A. Lysenko of Kiev thinks.

"It's still early to talk of a new way of thinking in the newspaper. The soviets are still somewhat out of touch with their constituency." (War veteran V.S. Khodakovskiy of Irpen, Kiev Oblast.)

"The paper does not write enough about local agencies." (A reader from Chuguyev, Kharkov Oblast.)

As a rule a person who is dissatisfied or is not entirely satisfied with the newspaper will indicate exactly what it is that does not suit him. Thanks to the criticism, we will focus our attention on the themes and concerns mentioned.

Another important direction, broadly discussed in the newspaper, is in the field of economics. Here, readers have particularly emphasized the spread of advanced experience on the part of enterprises and individual workers. Writing on this subject are S.A. Borisov (Vinnitsa Oblast); V.A. Gubernatorov (Naberezhnyy settlement in Belyayevskiy Rayon, Odessa Oblast); I.M. Aleikin (Kalysh, Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast); Yu.V. Naumov (Zhdanov, Donetsk Oblast); and others, including about a third of all respondents. Certain of them point out in this connection such serious deterrents to economic development as bureaucratic red tape. "It would be more accurate to reveal the mechanism for achieving successes, uprooting bureaucratism." (Lecturer A.A. Butsenko of Belyy Tserkov, Kiev Oblast.) "Wage a decisive struggle with bureaucratism and cheating." (V.I. Alekseyenko, Volchansk, Kharkov Oblast.) And there were other comments. Here, for example, is what A.F. Mikhaylov of Kiev writes: "Put into print social obligations and how to fulfill them--they are almost not mentioned." Regarded by the authors as subjects of importance are the relationship of science to production, the struggle with mismanagement, developing democratic foundations for the economy, monitoring motor vehicle transport, publicizing the work of administrative agencies, etc.

Analysis of the questionnaires once again confirmed our opinion of the newspaper's influence on its readers and vice versa. Last year the editorial staff carried out many of the readers' proposals and it is pleasing that attention has been drawn to them now; it means that the publication has achieved its goal. The readers' wishes will also help journalists to concentrate on the most interesting and timely topics.

The question of party and state social policy has never been a matter of indifference. In the forefront is the housing problem. Readers are interested in everything about it: the progress of housing construction, its cost, maintenance of housing laws, apartments which are opening up in cities, the quality of housing and the publicity given to providing it. That everything should be just--that is what subscribers demand. They demand also that serious attention be given to domestic and consumer services, health care, education, cultural affairs, sports and leisure activity.

The question of leadership authority--and on what it depends--was not considered separately in the responses. Readers seemed to put it in the replies themselves. Most often they were concerned with party and economic leaders at the rayon and oblast levels. Many spoke of the necessity of improving the

responsibility of leaders to the party and the people. Here is what B.I. Voronov of Zhitomir writes: "A leader should be like Lenin, demanding in working with people; he should be personally modest, he should be held accountable to the collective, and a model to all."

The opinion of our long-time subscribers is of particular value to us; for, after all, they can compare the level of our publications over a span of many years. Among such subscribers is teacher Mikhail Ivanovich Khomenko (Kazatin, Vinnytsa Oblast), a subscriber to PRAVDA UKRAINY "almost since childhood, when I became a youth and went to work." There is nothing more pleasing for the journalists than reading such words about the newspaper. Among subscribers, there are many veterans of the party, of the war, and of labor. They are filled with a desire to assist the editorial staff in its undertakings, and together with the newspaper, to struggle against shortcomings, and to educate the young generation with examples of selfless service to the motherland. Our heightened attention is given to this class of reader.

The demands for effective criticism on the part of both journalists and readers are in concurrence. Yes, and it could not be otherwise: The main thing is the expeditious correction of shortcomings under conditions of broad openness and practical criticism. Without this no movement forward is possible. "Not a single instance of improper performance should be left without proper attention--that is, taking appropriate measures," writes war veteran A.N. Baranov of Slavuta, Khmelnytskyi Oblast. "Publicize critical materials in such a form that they call for reader responses"--this letter is from Kiev (the author wishes to remain anonymous). "Measures have been taken--what more is there to do?" comments Yu.V. Naumov of Zhdanov. Punish suppressors of criticism, expose apologists, and publish more often photographic evidence of misdeeds. One more valuable proposal has come from the director of a school in the village of Prud, Sovetskiy Rayon, Crimean Oblast. "The principal correspondent should be more broadly acquainted by the reader with his critical view of the problem."

The richest source of proposals turned out to be the final question about what readers wanted to see in the newspaper that was new in the year of the 70th Anniversary of Great October. Rubrics such as "70 Heroic Years--A Short Chronicle," "Personally Involved," and "October in Our Life," as well as others, were dedicated by readers to this illustrious date in the life of the Soviet people. Altogether, there were so many rubrics and proposals that just to enumerate them would take up several pages. They will be attentively studied, and the best of them have already appeared in the columns of the newspaper. For example, "Acute Angle" and "News Items in Tune With the Times," among others.

In this regard we should like to reply to one skeptic from Khmelnytskyi, alleging that a rubric requires "authorization from above." No, dear readers, it is only with your lofty authorization that rubrics exist in the newspaper, and if any lack interest, do not trouble yourself, they will vanish of their own accord.

Not long ago we had an editorial staff meeting on the replies to the questionnaire. All spoke out in favor of continuing similar research. We will be asking more often for your opinion on a given problem or a given material. The idea is to create within the editorial office a social service. Only with your help, by relying on your support, dear readers, can the newspaper be an adviser to others.

We wish to express our gratitude to all the readers who have responded to PRAVDA UKRAINY's questionnaire. Continue to write to us. Our best wishes to you all.

12889/9835
CSO: 1800/362

MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

TEHRAN DAILY CRITICIZED FOR REPORT ON SOVIET DRUG ADDICTION

NC101624 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 10 Mar 87

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The word glasnost, meaning openness, like the words pyatiletka, meaning a 5-year plan, and sputnik, meaning a satellite, which became part of international terminology a long time ago, is being widely used today throughout the world. The Soviet people, who are striving to promote their social and economic progress and development, are analyzing, in an atmosphere of great openness, the path that they have trodden so far. They are frankly criticizing inefficiencies and mistakes, which are being overcome, and they are preparing the ground for future progress. The Soviet mass media discuss the trend of renovation in all aspects of Soviet life in full detail, and point out shortcomings and the reasons for them. The bourgeois press is exploiting the openness of the Soviet mass media to distort the truth about what is now happening in the Soviet Union and to misrepresent Soviet realities.

JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI of Iran is also guilty of this. It has published an editorial on drug addiction in the Soviet Union. In this article, some of the exaggerations published in the Western press, for example, Germany's FRANK-FURTHER RUNDSCHAU, are repeated. The conclusion the Iranian paper draws from these claims is that drug addiction in the Soviet Union is as critical a problem as it is in capitalist countries. This assertion is completely baseless. Exploitation and the amassing of profits are inherent in capitalist societies, and drug trafficking is one of the most sensational trades. For example, a vast network for the secret production and sale of these poisons has been set up in the United States, and U.S. businessmen pocket more than \$100 billion in profits from this trade annually. They have been able to (?bribe) the competent authorities and are successfully continuing their sinister and wretched trade. Charles Schuster, director of the National Institute of Drug Abuse, confessed: We are having no impact on the situation.

The number of drug traffickers is not going down; on the contrary, it is on the increase. The threat of punishment is so minute that we are actually encouraging drug traffickers.

There is one more reason for the vast spread of addiction in capitalist society which is more important than all these. The need for drugs is the outcome of incurable social diseases--exploitation, unemployment, crises and

poverty among millions. In a bourgeois society the struggle against drug abuse and production [passage indistinct] and the true reasons for this horrible phenomenon (?are not revealed). The socialist revolution uprooted these fundamental reasons once and for all. Our people declared that factories, land, mines, and other basic units of production belonged to everyone, and thus ended exploitation. They overcame phenomena such as unemployment and poverty—conditions in which drug addiction spreads—and limited the incidence of this social disease in the Soviet Union. The cases which do occur are not the inevitable and clear result of the progress of the socialist system, as JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI is trying to suggest to its readers. On the contrary, these negative phenomena in Soviet life, namely the few cases of addiction, result from the misuse of socialist resources and the violation of the basic principles of the socialist system, in which the needs of human beings and (?sympathy) for human beings constitute the focal point of the government's attention.

Specific measures are being implemented in our country in order to uproot addiction. Legal organs and those concerned with the defense of public order are, together with the health ministry, taking all the necessary steps to block drug distribution channels, prevent trafficking, and ensure the rehabilitation of persons in our country who are afflicted with this bourgeois sickness. The fight against drugs is taking place with the active participation of the country's entire population and is being widely covered by the Soviet mass media. Last year, during an operation code-named "Poppy Seed 86," more than 3,000 illegal narcotics plantations and 100,000 hectares of land where wild hemp grew were found, and the crops destroyed. Militia organs arrested 200 persons involved in drug trafficking, who were punished.

In publishing (?lies) on drug addiction in the Soviet Union, JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI says nothing about the fact that the Soviet Government is successfully fighting this social affliction, with the support of the vast masses. Apparently, the publishers of this newspaper would have preferred the opposite to be the case. JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI is trying to exploit the open approach of the Soviet people to the removal of negative phenomena from their society, in order to distort the facts about our country.

/9716

CSO: 4640/103

RELIGION

URBAN RELIGIOUS BELIEVERS PROFILED

Moscow NAUKA I RELIGIYA in Russian No 2, Feb 87 (signed to press 26 Dec 86)
pp 6-9

[Article by V. Saprykin, doctor of philosophical sciences: "Believers in the Modern City"]

[Text] It is generally recognized that the pace of socioeconomic and cultural progress is significantly faster in the cities than in the countryside and that pace is greatest in the largest cities, followed by the middle-size and smaller cities. This is also confirmed by data on the religiosity of the urban and rural populations of the USSR. Investigators noted as early as 1937 that whereas two-thirds of the urban population moved away from religion, approximately one-third did so in the rural areas. Today, religiosity in the cities is on the average 1.5 -- 2 times lower than it is in the countryside.

Let us now take another set of statistical data. In 1917, city dwellers comprised 18 percent of the population of the Russian state, whereas they now constitute 65.7 percent of our country's population. The population of the large cities increased with particular speed. In 1959 we only had three cities with populations of one million or more: Moscow, Leningrad, and Kiev. In 1984 there were already 22 such cities. The urban population is continuing to grow which means that city dwellers are increasingly coming into contact with the achievements of socioeconomic and cultural progress.

It would seem that propagandists of atheism would have less to do in the city and that atheistic propaganda should be mainly be concentrated in the rural areas. However, life's experience has taught us more than once that behind "favorable" statistics there often is concealed a complex and quite contradictory picture.

The dynamics of city life and the accelerated changeover of the technological, social, and cultural milieu of the city dweller require a constant search for new organizational forms and methods of atheistic upbringing that satisfy contemporary demands. We can see here the particular urgency of thoughts expressed by M. S. Gorbachev from the rostrum of the 27th CPSU Congress: "Stagnation is simply intolerable in such vital, dynamic, and multifaceted areas of endeavor as information, propaganda, artistic creativity and artistic

independence, the activities of clubs, theaters, libraries, and museums, i.e., all the areas of ideological-political and labor, moral, and atheistic upbringing."

In order that our search for new forms does not turn into precast work and formalism, it is important to proceed with a precise knowledge of exactly who is the modern urban believer and what are his religious concepts, way of life, attitude toward labor, public activity, and culture. In thinking over these questions, we shall, as a rule, turn to some specific sociological research that was undertaken at the beginning of the 1980's in Karaganda. (That study covered over 300 believers, including Evangelists, Baptists, Catholics, Lutherans, Mennonites, and members of the Orthodox church. Of course, our findings are not intended to be conclusive as we did not attempt to offer categorical and unequivocal solutions, but we believe that the judgments we did make about atheistic education will be helpful to those persons who are seriously concerned about them.(1)

As Times Change, So Does Religiosity

It would be easier to answer the question: Who is the urban believer? -- if we turn to social and demographic characteristics. Among the subjects interviewed, 50.7 percent were laborers, 9.5 percent were white collar employees, 2.7 percent were engineering and technical personnel, one percent were pupils and university students, and the rest were pensioners. Most of the believers were women (68.1 percent). Almost 40 percent of the group under study was over 50 years old.

The areas that attract the greatest interest are those in which it is more difficult to make judgments about people's views, goals, and values. The world of the contemporary believer is complex, contradictory, and in flux. Of course, that world cannot but help reflect the realities of our life. However, as they pass through the prism of religious consciousness, they often acquire quite capricious forms.

Let's take the traditional question: "Are you more partial to science or religion?" Only 22.3 percent of the queried believers said that they prefer religion over science. It is true, however, that only 9.1 percent agreed that "science convincingly disproves religion." Most of those questioned preferred what are termed middle positions, such as: "science and religion are independent of each other and each has its own truth" (25.3 percent) and "science and religion are compatible and corroborate each other" (25.3 percent).

Therefore, science is occupying an increasingly greater place in the urban dweller's conscience which is becoming influenced to a significant degree by scientific and technical progress, i.e., it is becoming more rational. Believers are rather skeptical about religion's ability to offer convincing explanations about natural and social phenomena. (One must admit, however, that although science has been making some marked inroads on traditional religious concepts in the believers' conscience, it still cannot once and for all rid the conscience of faith in the supernatural and miracles. Thus, "non-

traditional" religiosity is frequently characterized by a capricious intertwining of scientific concepts and mysticism, and sometimes science itself is used to justify religious dogmas).

The urban dweller's recognition of religion as something that is helpful is not at all unconditional. Just a little over one-half the questioned subjects noted that "religion is beneficial," while the rest preferred less categorical replies such as "religion is neither harmful nor beneficial" (12.2 percent).

The journal *NAUKA I RELIGIYA* presented its readers with a detailed viewpoint of theologians with respect to the future of religion (1986, No 4). And here is what believers think of religion's future. "Religion will be forever" is what 54.7 percent of them think. Twenty-three percent considered that a better answer would be "I don't know," but 27 percent said that "religion will gradually wither away."

Urban believers are rather active in labor and social work (16.9 percent reported, for example, that they are exceeding the standard work plan). They participate in socialist competition (31.5 percent) and in the movement for improved production methods (3 percent). The interrogation showed that about 40 percent of the believers are involved in the social life of labor collectives.

Creative participation in the labor process is an important factor in the formulation of collectivist psychology, a socialist attitude and morality. Many believers, by their own admission, are not always guided in their everyday life by exclusively religious motives. They have a rather wide and diverse range of interests, clearly predominated by problems of domestic and international policy. Some of the believers are interested in philosophical and social-moral problems and read atheist literature, including the journal *NAUKA I RELIGIYA*. That kind of evolution in the spiritual world of the believer naturally leads him away from religion. However, as our analysis has shown, there is another possible result. The believers' dissatisfaction with religious life leads some of them, particularly the young people, to attempt to modernize religion and adapt it to their higher level of education and culture.

The religious activity of urban believers is rather high, i.e., 18.9 percent of the queried subjects attend church or a house of prayer no less than three or four times a week (172 visits per year), 25 percent attend one or two times a week (96 times a year), and only 13 percent find time to attend services only once or twice a month.

What attracts the urban dwellers to the religious community? What are they looking for there and what do they find, and what do they lose by going there? These are important questions, and atheist work cannot be undertaken without honest answers to those questions.

What Does Religion Give to People and What Does it Take Away?

"...the entity of religion," noted K. Marx, "is the entity of imperfection" (2). Socialism has undermined the social roots of religion,

although there are many "imperfections" that remain in labor, personal relations, the area of distribution, leisure time, and everyday life. Those imperfections remain in the city too where some of them are manifested with particular acuity.

In response to the question "What don't you like about city life?", the believers primarily noted the "high nervous tension caused by city noise and bustle." The next most frequent complaint was "the absence of a private plot of land and the opportunity to work on it." This, of course, was to be expected since almost a third of those questioned recently moved from the countryside and naturally retained a yearning for their former life style. Consciously or not, all of them intensely felt the pain of their separation from the land and their removal from nature. Moreover, many of the believers have large families so that a private plot for them was a significant source of material well being.

But, perhaps the most frequent psychological distress comes from the breakup of accustomed interpersonal, relative and neighborhood ties and an inability to adjust to new surroundings. The city dweller, F. Engels observed, is, as a rule, indifferent to other passers-by on the streets and to random encounters (3). Although a socialist city significantly mitigates that situation, it does not completely overcome it. Interpersonal relationships are often difficult to develop in industrial collectives, particularly for believers. Almost 35 percent of them only have an elementary school education, and only a few attempt to obtain higher vocational and cultural skills. It is only natural that they are confronted by a multiple of problems in the face of today's science-intensive, constantly changing modes of production. The sources of religiosity, as it happens, also may stem from unfavorable personal and family circumstances. For example, of the total number of persons interviewed, 32.3 percent were widows, 13.9 percent were divorced, bachelors, or single women.

We agree with those authors who have observed that it is indeed in religious mystical searching and related cult activities that the person who is dissatisfied with his life seemingly overcomes the real problems of his own life and tries to the fill in the missing aspects of knowledge, practical life, and communication with others. Then, on the basis of this religious foundation, he becomes confident of his behavior and finds moral support.

The religious community in the city is, as a rule, a unique "interest club", based on confessionals, where persons of specific value orientations come together. More often than not, they possess no solid scientific-materialist skills or convictions, are unsure of themselves, and are inclined to mysticism and superstition. In the community they find themselves in something by fulfilling a host of obligations imposed upon them such as speaking out with "the word of God," participating in an orchestra or choir, reading prayers "aloud," and "bearing other labors."

The persons interviewed indicated the value obtained by belonging to a religious community by such statements as "visits to the community add variety to my life," "prayer gives me a sense of relief and peacefulness," "I like the sermons best of all," "I like the music and songs most of all," "I like

being with fellow believers," "I like meeting with people my own age," "I like meeting with people of my own nationality," and "in the community I find out about news that interests me."

But let's see to what extent is there compensation here for the "imperfection" of their lives. What is this abode of salvation for the person who has lost his way in the big city? And is everything that goes on in the community for his benefit? Let's look at the facts. The most important factor of any person's life is his social activity, i.e., his involvement in work, in social and political affairs, and the level of his cognitive activity. Thus, the facts indicate that this index is markedly lower in urban believers than it is in non-believers.

Let us now refer to the result of studies conducted by Belorussian sociologists. A selective interview of young people in the Grodno Oblast showed that 90 percent of the non-believer youths (up to 28 years of age) participate in socialist competition, the production improvement movement, and production management (moreover, 62.5 percent did so on a permanent basis). More than one-half of the believers of the same age group were generally not at all involved in these types of activities, and only one-third took part in them from time to time (4). Studies made in other regions of the country came up with a similar picture.

The quality of person's life also very precisely characterizes his answer to the question: "For what purpose do you live and work?" The answers offered by believers are predominated by a pragmatic slant: "I am working in order to provide for the material well-being of my family," and in order "to bring up my children and give them an education," etc. No one will argue that these are important, essential motives. Those motives are also contained in the answers given by non-believers, but most of the latter give priority to the interests of the collective and society which is indicative of a high degree of spirituality and a certain altruism. But the responses of the believers do not at all exhibit the "lofty spiritual-moral values" of the personality that are so often advocated by religious preachers. Objectively, then, it turns out that their congregation professes to have an egocentric attitude toward the surrounding world. It is no accident, therefore, that when asked "What do you see as the goal and meaning of your life?", only 24.7 percent of those responding considered that service to society was of primary importance.

There is no doubt that the religious community does offer a certain amount of psychological support to a person who is experiencing loneliness and a certain discomfort under urban conditions, and does make up for a lack of communication with others, but it is also doubtless that the community strives to restrict the person within its own framework, even in the case of choosing a bridegroom or bride. Only 20.9 percent of the persons questioned did not have relatives in the community. Observations over many years have demonstrated that a tight intertwining takes place between the confessional community and the religious family which intensifies community restrictions and makes them quite rigid.

We believe there is one more characteristic feature identified in the life of urban believers. We found that when various interviewed groups of believers

have a high material level of life (largely a good income due to adherence to the old life style and conservation of former attitudes: a garden, orchard, a dacha, connections with the market, family help in getting a job, etc.) there is quite a low level of spiritual needs and a paucity of means and interests for satisfying them. None of the interviewed persons goes to the theater, although the city has three professional theaters, frequent touring groups from the capital city and other artistic groups. Only 1.3 percent of them use the libraries and only a few have personal libraries (only 29.1 percent), and even then the libraries consist of only 10 -- 15 books.

Thus, it is obvious that religiosity today not only signifies the acceptance of a certain complex of erroneous ideas and concepts. It also inevitably leads to a significant restriction of social and cultural-cognitive activity, and a narrowing of social ties. And that is still not the entire payment for the "psychological comfort" afforded by a religious community.

Not by the Word Alone

Atheists and believers are working together in all areas of building socialism and communism (we'll leave aside the few cases of religious extremism). However, there are of course philosophical contradictions between the two groups. And this is not merely a matter of establishing the truth. It is a matter of freeing people from the illusion and mistaken notions that each person can make full use of the material and spiritual resources that are already being made available to by society. Our polemics offends no one's religious sensitivities, and at the same time the CPSU has come out decisively against any attempts to use religion to the detriment of the society's interests and of the individual.

It is generally known that in recent years there have been changes in not only the religiosity of the masses, but also in religious doctrines. This is particularly noted in the cities since it is there that the principal forces of religious associations have been concentrated. Professional theologians and preachers know everything about the believers: How they live and work, what they read, with whom do they associate, and what their life's goals are. "A pastor is like a spiritual physician," writes the theologian G. Kaplanin. "He is obliged to delve into the depths of the soul and understand its strivings, needs, and aspirations. He must attentively follow society's vital activities, and he must make timely investigations and studies of society without waiting for life to confront him with questions that he is not prepared to resolve." (5) The recommendations that warrant attention are those which involve work with people and attempts to influence their conscience and way of life. In addition, exhortations of this kind compel one to think about another thing -- the degree of responsibility and the difficult tasks that atheist propagandists have in the cities.

In reflecting about the fate and life of believers in the modern city, I would like once again to emphasize that atheist work does not merely boil down to propaganda alone. The CPSU program gives particular attention to the fact that "the most important component part of atheistic education is to elevate the level of the people's labor and public activity." Exceptionally favorable conditions are provided for this goal by the policy aimed at an acceleration

of socioeconomic development, improvement in the management machinery, the introduction of new forms of labor organization (team contracts, cost accounting), and a further intensification of socialist democracy. However, still greater efforts are needed to make maximum use of those conditions.

We noted as a favorable sign the fact that almost 40 percent of believers participate in the social life of labor collectives. However, that fact can also have a different reading i.e., 60 percent still do not participate! And this is not merely a question of religiosity. About 10 percent of those interviewed explained that their non-participation was due to the absence of appropriate conditions. There will be a higher level of labor and social activity on the part of believers in those places where simple humanitarian moral standards in relations between people are not only proclaimed but in fact practiced. Openness in all things, benevolence and honesty, simplicity and sincerity, truthfulness and modesty, and finally actual, and not just verbal, responsibility for assigned tasks all comprise the most significant characteristics of a normal moral-psychological atmosphere. If this kind of atmosphere prevailed in the collective, then believers would not feel the need to turn to religious morality.

The labor collective's concern about individual upbringing and the formulation of a world outlook cannot be limited to the premises of the enterprise. That concern must be extended to the sphere of everyday life and leisure with, of course, consideration given to the specific features of personal interrelationships here. I want to mention once again that on the scale of factors that produce religiosity the most important element is the religious family. That family comprises a unique "household church," a branch of the community which actively conducts the religious training of children.

Such a family's circle of associations is basically composed of the community members and believer neighbors. This understandably impedes different contacts so that special delicacy and tact are required in making approaches to this kind of community. But in places where people are sensitive to the needs and requirements of people, where the party committees and local soviets undertake measures that are not merely limited to their residential areas, but involve the microregion's residents themselves in resolving problems important to them on the basis of cooperation and independence, in such places, the common interest binds all the people together, regardless of their convictions and beliefs.

And there have been such examples. In the Donetsk Oblast councils of pensioners that include retired laborers and war veterans are actively engaged in work with young people, help families of servicemen, the aged, persons living alone, and participate in the supervision of public communal services in the microregion. In Kalinin, for example, there is a family book club. Women's councils are very active in many cities and villages. Social-pedagogical complexes have been organized in the residential areas in Krasnodar Kray. In short, a number of people's initiative forms are emerging into which increasingly larger groups of believers are becoming involved. Then, people will have their own "little mounds" and "little benches" in an "urbanized abode" where, as one witty person correctly put it "there will be two great possibilities -- to listen to our space brothers about reason and

not to listen to neighbors about housework," and where a person can rest to his heart's content and talk with neighbors about harvest prospects or the obstinacy of young people or to hear out their sorrows, and to counsel with others about one's own concerns. After having satisfied this great need, i.e., the need for human contact, some believer will miss a day of prayer, then a second and a third time, and then he'll want to know more about the world than he can find out in the community. He will go with his neighbor to the theater or to a discussion of a new book after having read it and formed his own opinion, and he will visit an exhibit -- and those are just a few things! There is so much to make life interesting in the modern city.

FOOTNOTES

1. We refer those who are interested in more complete data to: V. A. Saprykin, "Urbanizatsiya i ateisticheskoye vospitaniye" [Urbanization and Atheistic Upbringing], Kiev, 1985; V. A. Saprykin, "Aktualnyye problemy nauchno-ateisticheskogo vospitaniya v usloviyakh goroda" [Vital Problems of Scientific Atheistic Training in the City], Moscow, 1986 (Editors).
2. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 1, p 388.
3. See K. Marx and F. Engels, Ibid, Vol 2, p 264.
4. See R. P. Platonov, "Propaganda nauchnogo ateizma" [Scientific Atheist Propaganda], Minsk, 1982, p 64.
5. G. Kapalin, "Dukhovno-nravstvennyy oblik i povedeniye pastyrya" [The Spiritual-Moral Aspect and a Pastor's Conduct], Zagorsk, 1978, p 79.

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CSO: 1800/383

RELIGION

RAYKOM FIGURES ON BELIEVERS REGARDED AS TOO LOW

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 23 December 1986 carries on page 2 an 1800-word article by S. Guljanov headlined "We must act decisively (from a peoples meeting in Garrygala Rayon." He points out that "due to a weakening of political-education and agitation-interpretation work in the rayon the ranks of the religious believers are increasing. Among them there are even pseudo-mullas (who attempt to show them 'sacred' signs and who are preaching religion among the masses." Citing seven of these "pseudo-mullahs" by name and stressing that they have attracted entourages of "weak people," the author claims that "according to the party raykom there are 261 religious believers in the rayon. This is hard to believe because, according to a sociological survey, 15.9 percent of those questioned continue to practice religious rites and ceremonies and 40 percent marry in the old style."

/12947

CSO: 1835/411-W

RELIGION

BRIEFS

FIGURES ON NUMBER OF MOSQUES IN USSR--Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian on 15 January 1987 carries on page 3 a 1400-word article by APN correspondent Kasym Shadiyev titled "Muslims in the USSR: Facts and Speculation." The author disputes the claims of Western scholars that the number of mosques in the USSR is inadequate to meet the needs of the country's Muslims. Citing the inconsistent figures offered by one scholar, Shadiyev asserts: "There are in fact 1330 mosques in the USSR. Between 1977 and 1983 alone 69 new mosques were opened." The author also takes issue with the claim made by this same Western scholar that there is on average 1 mosque per 90,000 people in the USSR. Shadiyev responds first by asking whether such a figure, if accurate, is really all that low (citing the case of Spain, with 1 church per 60,000 inhabitants), and then dismissing the figure as "skewed" because it includes women, who are normally not permitted in mosques. [Editorial Report] /12947

CSO: 1830/376

SOCIAL ISSUES

SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY NOTES PUBLIC SERVICE PROBLEM AREAS

Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 10, 16 Mar 87 pp 18-19

[Interview with Vilen Alavidze, First Secretary of the Tbilisi Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia, by Alexander Guber]

[Text]

A poll recently conducted in the United States showed that Americans trust TV commentators more than anyone else. Then come their wives (or husbands) and their car mechanics.

What matters to us here is not that most Americans have more trust in TV commentators than in their spouses—it's a personal matter or perhaps a national trait. We were most surprised and interested to learn that they also have absolute confidence in their car mechanics. Why?

It was with this question that our talk with Vilen Alavidze began. The question was not a gimmick, however. Having your car serviced is still a problem in our country, and for this reason the Party committee's desire to include the question of the Tbilisi car repair service in a recent sociological study was not surprising.

Exact Knowledge, Not Guesswork

It was obvious even without a poll that there is considerable malpractice in the car servicing business. So was there any need to stir up passions once again? Vilen Alavidze was sure that this was absolutely essential.

"The most painful, difficult issues should be thrashed out in the open," he said. "There will be no real democracy for as long as somebody can decide what to discuss and what not to. We all have to get accustomed to the new ways of doing things. As Mikhail Gorbachev aptly observed, we must learn to work with democracy."

"But let us return to the car repair service. The poll you carried out showed that car repairmen do not enjoy a good

reputation in our country. Yet this is a whole section of the working class. No one thinks that all of them are dishonest people. The reason, I'm sure, lies elsewhere—in the shortage of spare parts, the workers' skills, the organization of work...."

"We are continuing to analyze the data. But it will take a long time to find solutions. One thing is clear, however: the economic conditions of work in this service need to be changed drastically, for at present there is no incentive to work properly. You asked me whether the poll was carried out to prove what is already obvious. Sociological studies are no use to us if we only call some executives to account and appoint new people instead of them. They are useful because we want to improve the situation radically. This can be achieved if we rely firmly on the majority. For this purpose we should not simply guess, but know exactly what people think. By the way, the poll you mentioned dealt not only with car servicing but also with trade and public services generally. It was the respondents who picked out car servicing for particular criticism. True, other services were criticized too, though their ratings were slightly better."

State Quality Control: Difficult Questions

"Let us talk about the state quality control introduced at industrial plants in Tbilisi. How did the workers accept it? Did the opinion of the majority coincide with that of plant managers who, as far as I remember, were fairly optimistic about the new quality checking system?"

"I regret to say that opinions varied on this point," Vilen Alavidze replied,

"and this again shows that public opinion should be constantly studied and taken into account. At 11 plants in Tbilisi, polls were held three times—last November and December and in January of this year. They revealed how the attitudes of personnel have changed.

"The idea of state quality control itself was not questioned at any of the three polls. It is obviously so necessary and useful that virtually no one objects to it. The point is whether the personnel are satisfied with the way state quality control was introduced at their respective enterprises.

"There were some surprises, too. For instance, the Kirov machine tool plant had not only the highest percentage of people satisfied with state quality control but also the highest percentage of people (38) who thought the situation at their plant was good and the lowest percentage (0.5) of people who thought it was extremely unsatisfactory. That seemed good, of course. But what we know now is that the plant turns out machines of poor quality while its personnel, and especially managers, are complacent and not greatly concerned about the future.

"State quality inspectors accept only products that are in line with current specifications. Everything has proved to be more complicated than some imagined, in view of the low technical standards of production, the poor organization of work, the imperfect remuneration system, and the failure of suppliers to keep their commitments.

"Most workers, engineers, technicians and managers questioned in the poll pointed in the first place to the low technical standards of production. There were, however, nuances on other questions. The workers drew particular attention to the pay system, and the engineers and technicians, to the organization of work, while the managers blamed the suppliers. The questions of pay and organization of work can be settled at a given plant, whereas the supply of raw materials or components depends on others. This is no fortuity, for it reveals a lack of real independence and responsibility of managers, who are adapting slowly to the new situation."

"Perhaps it's also important how state quality control operates and what mistakes inspectors make?"

"One of the goals of the sociological study was to clarify this. About half the people questioned in the poll said the state inspectors merely exercise strict control over quality, while 47 per cent pointed out that state quality control helps to bring out and remove defects. The professional competence of state quality control executives was rated as excellent by only 13.2 per cent, as good by 31.3 per cent, satisfactory by 33.9

per cent, and bad by 3.1 per cent of those polled. The rest found it difficult to give any rating. It is interesting that the quality of work of deputy managers was rated much lower."

"Will not such ratings damage the reputation of the executives concerned?"

"Certainly," Vilen Alavidze replied. "We are beginning to elect managers, and those whose work was rated as bad or satisfactory will therefore not be elected."

Personal Qualities of a Manager

"You know, not a few people opposed the open discussion of the personal qualities of executives. Here is the questionnaire for one of our polls asking people to say what they think about city or district administrators, specifically, about their business efficiency, ability to advance or support progressive ideas, initiative and sensitivity to the new, their overall standards of education and world outlook, attitudes to citizens and their needs, life styles, behaviour in the family and in public, fidelity to principle, integrity, fairness, personal commitment to the campaign against negative factors, prestige among the population, and the life styles of the members of their families.

"But surely only an ideal man would get high ratings on all these points?"

"As far as I know, no one got only high ratings. However, administrators and managers learned exactly how their fellow citizens see them—not at meetings, from the rostrum or in the office, where people do not yet always tell the boss what they think about him, but in the form which everyone fills out in private, alone with his or her conscience."

"How do you assess the results of the poll overall?"

"Our citizens have drawn fair conclusions by supporting good, honest and sensible people and denying confidence to poseurs, unscrupulous people, secret opponents of restructuring."

"But democracy does not only mean an opportunity for citizens to speak their minds. It's important to know that your opinion will be heeded and considered, and conclusions be made."

"Yes. That's why a form circulated during the poll organized last year by the public opinion research centre under the auspices of the Georgian Communist Party's Central Committee included 500 questions. All the forms received were processed by electronic computers with the result that we learned the opinion of the majority on each question posed, what aspects of private

and public life worry people most, to what extent people are satisfied with their lives, how objectively their complaints are examined.

"This tremendous work was not undertaken for the sake of formal reporting," Vilen Alavidze went on. "We got first-hand knowledge of what ordinary people are most concerned about. Isn't that the first duty of the Party and the Soviets?"

"A campaign against negative factors is being conducted in Georgia as elsewhere in our country. What does the public think about the results?"

"Extensive research was carried out on this question a while ago. On the whole, the public believes that the campaign against negative factors has been stepped up in the past few years, and the scale of profiteering and bribe-taking, for instance, has reduced. Only eight of every 100 people polled thought that this campaign had slackened.

"The results seem clear. But only 23 per cent of those questioned were satisfied; 25 per cent were not satisfied, while the others were not certain or avoided answering the question in general. These figures cannot but arouse deep concern."

"I saw the form and distinctly remember the following question in it: has life become easier or harder for honest people? What were the answers?"

"Some people think life for honest people has become more difficult."

"Do you agree with them?"

"It is difficult to give a simple answer," Vilen Alavidze said. "Changes for the better are evident, and the people have noticed them, as can be seen from the results of the polls. But the old, harmful practices are not disappearing by themselves. The demands made by the public on the campaign against negative factors are growing faster than the campaign itself. Those who stand in the way of the drive for change, and accelerated social and economic development at their plants, collective farms and institutes, have assumed a heavy burden and set themselves high standards. It is they who have started restructuring, and they are therefore having it hardest.

"One more thing. The Party has given a powerful impetus to criticism and is encouraging critical attitudes in society. As a result, what was quite natural only a few years ago is today fiercely rejected by the working people."

Should the First Impression Be Trusted?

Some warn against believing first impressions because they might be good ones. The same could happen with the study and consideration of public opinion. Being very attractive, the reforms could entail problems we are unable to cope with.

"The Party's policy of extending democracy in all spheres of life is a strategy and, simultaneously, a lever for tackling concrete issues. However difficult it may be, we shall not be deflected from this path. And then, it is not that we have more difficulties now, but that we are talking about them more openly than before. The more successfully we overcome these difficulties, the more people will consciously take part in this work."

"Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that our country is facing a difficult 12th five-year-plan period. You often meet with work collectives and talk with people. Do you think they are ready to overcome the difficulties?"

"I'm sure they are. But if something goes wrong, we shall bear the responsibility, and no one else. Everything will be decided by the people and the leaders they elect. The time when managers were appointed and the personnel formally approved the appointment is fast receding. The people really will elect their leaders themselves. They will demand practical results from the leaders and help them get such results. This is a tremendous force, and it is mainly on this force that the idea of readjustment and faster progress relies."

"Let us return to the car servicing with which we began our conversation. Do you think the time will come when people stop criticizing it?"

"It's still a valid question. We have tried almost everything: large car-care centres have been built, collective responsibility for car repair and a triple system of control have been introduced. Since I'm not an expert in this field, I can't suggest concrete measures. We must talk things over with other people. But I'm sure that as long as the motorist treats the car mechanic as if he were a dispenser of favours, the mechanic will dictate his terms, and our efforts will fail. So far we have been trying to find a technical solution to this problem. But I'm sure that we'll find a solution by economic means. By extending paid services at enterprises and using individual and collective forms of work organization, we shall draw honest people who will honestly earn their pay into this line of business."

SOCIAL ISSUES

OFFICIALLY SANCTIONED 'MEDIOCRITY' IN VUZ'S PROTESTED

Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 7 Feb 87 p 3

[Article by Prof. V. Grigoryan, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences, under the rubric, "In the Big Staff Room": "How the 'Three-Level' Student Is Dangerous"; passages in slash marks are in boldface in source]

[Text] Aggressive Mediocrity

One cannot cut the truth to size. It is always one, and always takes cruel revenge for betrayal.

And now let us ask the question: What is a "three" [equivalent to a grade of "C" on a scale of one to five]? I'm convinced that it usually represents an attempt to evade the truth. That same evasion of it for which we are compelled to pay a high price--train crashes and shipwrecks, burst boilers and buildings with incomplete work. A poor doctor who doesn't know how to cure us, a poor administrator through whose fault we come to know the brunt of bureaucratism, a poor foreman who passes off defective products--all these people were once "three" students who grew accustomed to the charity of the "three" and came to believe in its omnipotence and saving powers.

When we talk about restructuring, to a fundamental extent we rise up against the "three," against drabness in production, in relationships, in everyday life--everywhere where one may speak of man's productive activity. But this struggle is not an easy one: the supporters of the "three" are militant. They are trying with all their might to defend its impenetrability. It's more convenient that way, and easier to count on preserving the status one has gained.

Here's an example. Not a month has passed since the day on which the commission in charge of hearing entrance examinations in Russian for graduate school in the republic Academy of Sciences encountered a case that, incidentally, is not all that unique. Before us was a recent graduate of the Pedagogical Institute imini Kh. Abovyan, who was trying to enter graduate school in the specialty of "social psychology." We talked with her, trying to find out her attitude toward Dostoyevskiy. Not everything was going smoothly

with our interviewee. Finally it came out that she not only had not read a single work by the great writer but couldn't even name a single one of his works. Not one!

Everything would seem to be clear--such a person should understand that there is no place for him in graduate school, especially where issues of social psychology are supposed to be studied. But, as it is not difficult to convince oneself, mediocrity is always aggressive. Our candidate did not fail to confirm the aggressive nature of ignorance. She started to argue in rather harsh form that the rules of the examination had been violated in the discussion about some sort of Dostoyevskiy, who, in the final analysis, could be read sometime later on.

I am convinced that we were dealing with a "three" student, who is always distinguished by mediocrity--in knowledge and in opinions. And by considerable pretensions.

Let us look truth in the eye: How many such people manage by hook or--more likely--by crook to get into graduate school. As a result, we get drab dissertations that provide the newly-fledged candidate with the opportunity to produce more like himself. And so it goes, year after year.

In the official annals of the higher school there exist precise statistics regarding "twos." Most likely, no less careful records of "satisfactory" marks are kept. But the latter do not trouble the employees of higher schools (and not just higher schools). And if they do trouble them, only insignificantly so. After all, the "three" makes it possible to live tranquilly. Both for the higher schools and for the officials in charge of them. This situation is quite probably akin to cleverly veiled report-padding. The mark of "satisfactory" has a great deal in common with the fulfillment of the plan by dubious means. The situation that one can encounter usually on the eve of the last entrance exam for higher school is a persuasive argument on behalf of these remarks. It is precisely when the number of candidates remaining in the competition is equal to the number of places provided by the admissions plan.

How such a situation arises is a special question that requires separate investigation. Let us look at how relations between the administration and the examiners develop in this case. Everything is simple: /the administrators start putting pressure on the examiners, and the latter, not wishing to exacerbate relations and fearing a reduction of the admissions plan for the following year, give one after another of those situation-"saving" "threes."/

Quality Above All

This is just one of the numerous situations that the higher-school employee of our generation can relate. Alas, too often the truth turns out to be on one side and necessity on the other. And the truth does not always prove stronger than necessity. But when necessity wins out, the doors open wide to mediocrity. And tomorrow they will teach and provide medical care, judge and pardon, build and write dissertations.

So we are talking about our future, about the future of our children and grandchildren.

I cannot say whether the attitude toward the "three" was sanctioned at the beginning of the '50s when my generation entered graduate school at Yerevan University. But there the rules were consistently upheld: /no "threes" accepted/. Moreover, there were no exceptions.

Most likely, the time will come when the impermissibility of the mediocre student will become the law. Indeed, who in the future will need a specialist on whose academic record there are nothing but "threes"? In order to erect a reliable barrier to the avalanche of "satisfactory" marks it is evidently necessary to codify a certain limit above which sanctions are to be applied, as they are to "two" students. It could be, say, as follows: If the number of a student's "threes" exceeds 75 percent, he is not allowed to take state examinations without retaking the subjects in question. After all, there is a regulation regarding the percentage ratio of "excellent" to "good" marks, which determines the right to receive a "red" diploma!

/One thing is indisputable: implementation of the higher-school reform should signify serious and prompt measures placing an impassable barrier to noodwinking in the form of the "three." Today special standards in terms of quality are being imposed everywhere. Why should procrastination be allowed in the development of decisive measures aimed at preventing defective output in higher education?/

After becoming a student, the admissions candidate gains confidence that he can graduate from higher school without any particular difficulty. This situation is reinforced by official, semiofficial and utterly unofficial instructions and directives. In order to illustrate the whole absurdity of the existing situation, let me cite the following case. On the bulletin board hanging near the rector's office in one of our higher schools, a warning to instructors stands out: Each one of them bears responsibility for the absence of a student. This means, in particular, that if a student wants to play a dirty trick on an instructor, all he has to do is go to the movies, for example, instead of his lectures. He, the student, has fun, while the instructor, according to the instruction, gets a dressing-down from his superiors.

The Dependent Examiner

And what are the moral and actual costs of "no-fail" production? There are many, but in my view the main ones are two: Confidence in the possibility of avoiding the truth. The student becomes persuaded on the basis of his own experience that he is suiting everyone and is legally irreproachable--he may be mediocre, but he's got results. In the second place, the imaginary omnipotence of the "three" creates false notions concerning the prestigiousness of work as the mandatory condition for attaining life's blessings.

On the eve of the aforementioned entrance examinations for graduate school, a colleague came to me with a request: to raise the mark of one of the women

candidates and, conversely, lower the mark of her competitor. The maximum for which I received "permission" was to give both the same mark. I could not fulfill the request, since the factual data said just the opposite: the competitor received an "excellent," and the protege received a "four." Of course, my colleague resented me.

There would be no need to speak about all of this if a current opinion did not lie behind the episode I have related: If anyone can be asked to violate the norms of decency, it's examiners.

Of course, the examiners themselves could be blamed for the situation that has come about. They are the ones who, to a considerable degree, permit what is, to put it mildly, a shameless attitude toward themselves. But that's just one side of the problem.

It has another aspect--a legal one. /As paradoxical as it may seem, we have no law on higher education and, accordingly, no legal status for the higher-school instructor, in which his rights and duties are clearly spelled out./ In particular, the time has come to declare for all to hear the independence of the examiner. This is the only way to protect him from constant infringements of his will and the independence of his decisions. Moreover, it is necessary to think of ways to put a stop to any attempt to put pressure on the initiative of the person who performs a function of great civic and educational importance--the examiner of the future specialist.

Recently our pedagogical periodical press has carried several articles in which attempts were made to revive the "three" as a positive mark. I shall not dispute this way of putting the question--it may be valid. But one must not forget that the revival of the "three" is permissible only on the condition that its true significance be returned to it. And until then, as long as it serves the purposes of hoodwinking and plan fulfillment by unscrupulous means, the purposes of "drawing down" the "two" student and supporting mediocrity--until that time the higher-school and graduate-school "three" is and will continue to be the chief obstacle on the path of educating and training the professionally and morally irreproachable specialist.

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SOCIAL ISSUES

MVD'S VLASOV INTERVIEWED ON ANTIALCOHOL BATTLE

PM170831 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Mar 87 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with A.V. Vlasov, USSR internal affairs minister, by unnamed IZVESTIYA correspondent: "Stopping the Moonshiners"--first two paragraphs are IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] When production of alcoholic beverages was reduced, the number of trade outlets selling wines and liquor decreased, and the offensive against drunkenness and alcoholism stepped up, the "active consumers" of intoxicating liquor could have been expected not to surrender their positions voluntarily but to look for a way out of the situation. This is indeed what happened. The country has seen an increase in moonshining and the number of "home wine-makers" is growing despite strict antialcohol legislation.

So how can we deal with the moonshiner who not only produces hooch for his own consumption but frequently turns his craft into a lucrative source of income by making drunks of the people around him and literally poisoning them? An IZVESTIYA correspondent talks to A.V. Vlasov, USSR internal affairs minister, about the complex of problems linked to moonshining.

[Correspondent] Aleksandr Vladimirovich, may I first ask: What worries you particularly about the alcohol-related crime situation today?

[Vlasov] First of all I will note that more than one-third of all crimes are directly linked to drunkenness. This means one in five accidents or traffic accidents and one in nine fires. When it comes to crimes in the home, 60-70 percent of them are the result of alcohol consumption. It is there--into apartments, homes, and hostels--that drunkenness has crept from the streets and production units. This is its last and still firm bastion, which, unfortunately, is being attacked with insufficient energy and skill. It is there that the rowdy drunk, the secret family drinker, the liquor speculator, and the profligate who organizes binges with fellow drinkers have largely gone.

I would like to talk frankly about the terrible danger posed by unrefined vodka and about the bootlegging which has recently been brought to light. Moonshining today--not only in the villages but in the cities too--has become a very dangerous refuge for drunkenness, is helping to turn people into drunks, and is a source of mercenary gain. It has a particularly strong hold in daily life.

[Correspondent] Could you then describe the situation with "unrefined vodka"--its scale, characteristics, and so forth?

[Vlasov] I will try. Whereas in the recent past moonshining was typically a rural "criminal phenomenon," now approximately 40 percent of its "manifestations" are recorded in the cities. Together with the liquor speculators, the bootlegger has begun to seriously complicate the operational situation in urban residential areas and hostels. Looking at the geographical side of the problem, the picture is as follows: Moonshining is most widespread in the RSFSR, particularly in large industrial centers in the Urals and Siberia where previously there were no serious "hotbeds" of this sort. The RSFSR accounts for 72 percent of all uncovered cases of moonshining, almost half of them in the Bashkir ASSR, Udmurt ASSR, Tatar ASSR, Altay and Krasnoyarsk Krays, and Irkutsk, Kemerovo, Tyumen, Orenburg, Perm, Sverdlovsk, and Chelyabinsk Oblasts. The "moonshine disease" is developing in the Ukraine, Belorussia, Kazakhstan, Lithuania, and Moldavia.

Who are our modern moonshiners? According to our information, 50 percent are workers and employees in urban and rural enterprises and 15 percent are kolkhoz members. And 61 percent of all moonshiners are women (it is deplorable that wives and mothers are drawn into the pernicious process of turning their relatives into drunks and poisoning them!). I must point out that both the producer and the consumer of moonshine have grown younger: 52 percent of those sentenced are below the age of 30 and only 20 percent are pensioners. Among those who had criminal charges brought against them last year, approximately 10,000 were people with higher or secondary specialized education, including 4,700 Communists and Komsomol members...

[Correspondent] And what kind of damage is being caused by all this?

[Vlasov] Moonshine is extremely harmful and pernicious for the health because, in addition to alcohol toxins, it contains a heavy concentration of highly dangerous fusel oils and spirits, furfural, metal oxides from the still, and all kinds of "special" additives--from tobacco to hydrochloric acid. In the last 18 months the militia has recorded 90 cases of group poisoning from alcohol surrogates and 200 people have died.

What other damage is caused by this problem? People become chronic alcoholics far more rapidly from moonshine, particularly teenagers... Considerable damage is being done to economic interests, because valuable products--thousands of metric tons of sugar, beets, potatoes, and grain--are destroyed by being turned into toxic substances. The sharp increase in sugar sales in a number of regions of the country over the past year--a 14-16 percent increase in Latvia and Moldavia, for example, and a 20 percent increase in Kirghizia--must be seriously analyzed, in particular.

Moonshiners often manufacture their "product" from stolen raw materials. The theft of sugar, grain, and beets for the purpose of unrefined vodka production has increased. A criminal group, led by the director of the Merkenskiy Sugar Refinery, which had embezzled sugar to the value of R140,000, has been broken up in Dzhanbul, for example.

Moonshining has become a source of unearned income and illegal gain. In Kursk Oblast citizen Kordina systematically manufactured and sold hooch at the Kastornaya-Novaya station. She was found to be in possession of 1.5 metric tons of home-brewed beer. The court confiscated a Zhiguli car bought with dishonest "earnings" and also a large deposit of money... Tens of liters of unrefined vodka, 0.5 metric tons of sugar, and approximately R20,000 were confiscated from the inveterate moonshiner Arzamasova... The unrefined vodka profiteers are being identified and face inevitable punishment.

[Correspondent] Why are people now joining the "clan" of moonshiners when they previously had no such intention?

[Vlasov] There can be no serious talk of combating drunkenness and moonshining unless the question of improving the organization of working people's work and leisure and satisfying popular demand for services and consumer goods are resolved in parallel or, to be more precise, in close conjunction with this.

It is a well known fact that in rural areas a bottle of moonshine is often the main form of payment for all manner of services rendered on the side. Have a bottle ready if you need firewood transported, your garden dug, or your house repaired. In Tula Oblast, for example, more than half of all persons sentenced for selling moonshine had manufactured it to pay for consumer services.

[Correspondent] Would you tell us please about the role played by the militia in the fight against moonshining?

[Vlasov] It must be admitted that the militia has proved to be ill-prepared for the outbreak of moonshining activity, particularly in the cities. We are now making up for lost time. But we have not been sitting idle, of course. A number of organizational measures have been implemented. In the last 18 months approximately 900,000 illicit stills have been either voluntarily handed in or confiscated and 2.6 million liters of home brewed beer and moonshine have been destroyed. Since the change in legislative norms, the number of charges brought across the country as a whole has increased 2.6 times. Over the past year more than 130,000 people have been found guilty by people's courts and 70,000 have been punished along administrative lines.

These are strong measures. They are evidence of a more active fight against bootlegging and moonshine consumption. This evil is not becoming less widespread, however--on the contrary, it is increasing in many regions of the country. This shows the weakness of preventive work, the inadequacy of the preventive measures taken with the participation of the public, and one-sidedness and formalism in applying the punitive sanctions laid down by the law. The increased number of punishments cannot automatically be identified with the effectiveness of antialcohol measures. In some areas MVD organs are dazzled by figures showing an increased number of punishments and have clearly slackened their preventive efforts.

I must say that the malicious moonshiner has rapidly reorganized his activity, has gone deep underground, so to speak, and is mastering new techniques. In the village of Grishentay in Vinnitsa Oblast the militia unmased V. Postupaylo,

who had set up a distillery with a watchtower in a forest thicket so that he could cover the approaches with a pair of binoculars... In Khoynikskiy Rayon, Gomel Oblast, a center for the collective production of unrefined vodka that many families took turns tending was discovered...

Precinct inspectors are our main force today in the fight against moonshining and in the prevention of drunkenness, parasitism, and crime. A complete program has been drawn up to radically improve their service. The greatest importance will be attached to explanatory work among the population by the militia in close contact with the public. The focus of this work is switching to labor collectives, residential areas, and the very heart of the masses.

Our staffers are sent particularly often to enterprises, sovkhoses, and kolkhozes where there have been flareups of violations of antialcohol legislation. Specialized volunteer militia groups are operating effectively in the fight against drunkenness and moonshining.

[Correspondent] What is your opinion of public assistance in this complex task, incidentally?

[Vlasov] Experience in combating moonshining shows that the correct combination of the force of the law and the effectiveness of persuasion and public opinion is very important, particularly regarding first offenders. In every case we must rely on the help and support of the public and the population.

It must be noted that two-thirds of all criminal penalties are fines and 23 percent are corrective labor, but more than 1,000 malicious moonshiners have been given prison sentences. At the same time, little material is sent for public examination: In some republics, krais, and oblasts the figure is as low as 4-5 percent. Obviously, criminal sanctions must not take the place of public open discussion of individual cases of the manufacture of unrefined vodka not intended for sale.

Good experience in the prevention of moonshining has been accumulated in a number of oblasts in the Ukraine. These issues are systematically submitted for discussion at local ispolkom sessions, economic aktiv meetings, and general meetings of workers and kolkhoz members. The public and the militia constantly speak of the need to voluntarily hand in illicit stills. In Chernigov Oblast, in particular, 32,800 illicit stills have been handed in over 18 months. I will give you the figure for Smolensk Oblast for the sake of comparison--only 15 stills. There is a similar unsatisfactory situation in Kostroma, Ryazan, and Novgorod Oblasts...

[Correspondent] So how do you actually detect the most sophisticated of moonshiners, such as the one with the binoculars and the watchtower?

[Vlasov] Dodgers like these force MVD organs to seek effective forms and methods of detecting and exposing them. Changes are being made to the system for monitoring and keeping tabs on malicious criminals and to the organization of cooperation between different branches of the militia and between the militia and the public, the quality of investigations and inquiries is being

improved, and new models of equipment to detect and analyze homemade hooch are being developed. In conjunction with the agroindustrial sector, we are employing a system of measures aimed at ensuring the safekeeping of agricultural produce and sealing all channels and loopholes through which raw materials and semifinished products are stolen.

We are striving to ensure that MVD organs apply legal norms with persistence and skill in the fight against drunkenness and moonshining. Of course, there must be no excesses or distortions here, nor any formalism or a callous attitude to people's fate. The USSR Prosecutor's Office, Ministry of Justice, Supreme Court, and MVD are carrying out additional measures to reinforce socialist legality and protect citizens' rights and interests, including in the sphere of the implementation of antialcohol legislation. Any violation of the law by militia staffers is regarded by us as an emergency and is given a principled appraisal, and the strictest measures are taken against the culprits, up to and including criminal proceedings.

[Correspondent] The editorial mail includes proposals for tougher penalties for moonshiners. Is this necessary, in your opinion?

[Vlasov] It is understandable that people should be so implacable--drinking bouts and moonshine cause all too many problems. But I do not think there is any need to toughen up present legislation. The measures we have are sufficiently strict and varied. It is a question not so much of the severity of the punishment--although this is important--as of making the moonshiner aware that punishment is inevitable.

It is quite another matter that the effectiveness of the fight against moonshining is being weakened by a number of omissions in existing legislation. For example, we consider a uniform approach to be essential with regard to the expert examination of all alcohol products confiscated from people suspected of moonshining. What is more, the potential for enhancing responsibility for the manufacture of alcohol surrogates at production units (including the responsibility of enterprise leaders--for lack of control and connivance) should be expanded. It would be expedient to extend Article 12 of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree "On Stepping Up the Fight Against Drunkenness" to persons punished for manufacturing, storing, and acquiring moonshine. This article deals with the question of depriving those guilty of alcohol-related offenses of all bonuses and awards based on enterprises' annual work performance and all preferential passes and moving them down the housing list.

[Correspondent] Aleksandr Vladimirovich, shall we perhaps sum up the main points of our conversation?

[Vlasov] Okay... The militia is now crucial to the fight against alcohol. We are increasing the strength and effectiveness of operational official measures to steadily reduce and eradicate drunkenness, moonshining, and other related crimes. But the efforts of the militia alone are not enough in this respect. Success can only be achieved by a united front--this is an important concern of party, Komsomol, and trade union organizations, labor collectives, the public, and the population as a whole. By using all ideological, socioeconomic, and legal means at our disposal, we can and must overcome the problem of drunkenness and moonshining. This is an immediate, urgent task in our fight for a healthy, sober lifestyle.

SOCIAL ISSUES

MOSCOW COUNSELORS CITE CONTINUING ANTI-ALCOHOL LAW VIOLATIONS

Moscow VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA in Russian 8 Dec 86 p 2

[Article by A. Agafonov, Moscow First Deputy Prosecutor, Senior Counsel of Justice, and S. Zamoshkin, Senior Counsel of Justice under the "The Community Against Drunkenness" rubric: "There Will Be No Slacking"]

[Text] The new anti-alcohol law has been in force for about a year and a half. Although it is a short time period, life has fully confirmed that measures against drunkenness were correct and timely.

Signs of improvement abound. Work discipline has strengthened; in industry, absenteeism has been reduced; work injuries have declined in number; and alcohol-related fatalities have been cut in half. Fewer crimes have been committed under the influence of alcohol. Curbs on liquor sales to the young had a positive impact on their behavior in public.

But it must be admitted that drunks on a city street are yet to become a rarity. Moreover, in some districts, the number of people taken to militia stations for public drunkenness has not only failed to decline but has actually risen compared to last year.

In the first half of the year more than 1,600 persons, including 23 managers, were charged with drinking at work. And 150 officials were punished for letting intoxicated employees work.

At industrial companies of the Zhdanovskii district, absenteeism was running at a rate of above 7%. Fifteen hundred workers were dismissed for repeated violations of work discipline. At Rostokino Worsted Fabric Plant and Bakery No. 19 such violations doubled, at the musical instrument manufacturing enterprise they have tripled, and at the machine oil plant and air fan parts plant they have nearly quadrupled.

Inspections by city and district prosecutors have revealed that at many companies, enterprises, and offices measures against drunkenness are not always implemented when required. Incidents of alcohol abuse are at times concealed, absentees are treated mildly, and community activists' boards and peer courts function poorly.

At the lathe plant, for instance, the working collective makes no use of its prerogatives: management does not report on the course of implementation of the anti-alcohol law, no measures to combat drinking are being proposed, and the state of labor discipline is not being discussed at worker meetings. In the collective, there is no atmosphere of intolerance toward offenders: the only attempts to influence their behavior have been initiated by management.

At the Experimental Printing Plant of the VNII [All-Soviet Scientific Research Institute] of Printing, no complete records of labor discipline violations are kept. Militia reports on offenses committed by employees went unrecorded, no one checked how measures were being implemented, and many workers were paid for the days they had missed.

Drunkenness is still common in many worker dormitories, especially in the Gagarinskii, Kirovskii, and Lyublinskii districts. Naturally, crime there increased last year, mainly stemming from drunkenness.

Gross violations of the law have been uncovered at retail enterprises. In many retail stores of the Dzerzhinskii district, drunks, contrary to the law's provisions, were not relieved of their work duties, were getting paid for missed days, and some known offenders were even receiving bonuses.

Early in the year, a ring of dealers was uncovered in the Gagarinskii District Food Store Administration's Store No. 7. They under-reported stocks of vodka left unsold at the end of each day, selling it on weekends at inflated prices.

In the Babushkinskii, Zhdanovskii, Solntsevskii, and other districts, limitation of economic capability of alcohol abusers is not being used to combat drunkenness. Significantly, such cases are mainly initiated by prosecutors, while unions and other organizations, or guardianship and trusteeship bodies, hardly ever use the prerogative of submitting such requests to courts, which has been granted to them by the law.

The Prosecutor's Office also has data documenting that even some Moscow militia precincts show indulgence toward persistent drunkards.

In Precinct No. 33, for example, offenders arrested under the influence 4-5 or more times were fined minimal amounts and their cases were not passed on to the People's Courts, to be dealt with more harshly as required by law. At Precinct No. 40, more than 1/3 of offenders were not fined at all.

As a result of the inspections, the Moscow Prosecutor's Office registered official complaints with a number of management offices of the Moscow gorispolkom. District prosecutors also looked into the violations. Officials responsible for the violations were disciplined and reprimanded. Some facts are being investigated. Spot checks are planned.

The Prosecutor's Office is taking additional steps to improve the quality and effectiveness of control over the implementation of the anti-alcohol law.

12892/9835
CSO: 1830/242

SOCIAL ISSUES

IZVESTIYA REPORTS WAR CRIMINAL SENTENCED TO DEATH

[Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 March 1987 Morning Edition carries on page 6 under the headline "Retribution" a 300-word report by Yu. Sidorov from Smolensk on the trial of a war criminal, Vasiliy Tarakanov, who admitted to having personally shot a large number of Soviet citizens and taken part in punitive operations against the civilian population and partisan detachments in Bryansk Oblast. The author notes that "the Moscow military district military tribunal sentenced the traitor Tarakanov to the supreme penalty--death."

/9716

CSO: 1800/451

SOCIAL ISSUES

YAKUTSK POLICE OFFICIALS PUNISHED FOR MISCONDUCT

Moscow TRUD in Russian 5 Feb 87 p 4

[Article by V. Natykin, TRUD special correspondent under the "The Law is Mandatory for All" rubric: "How They Wove the Nets"; first two paragraphs are source introduction]

[Text] Recently a people's court in the Oktyabrsky Rayon of Yakutsk approved the action of the procurator's office addressed to the republic Ministry of Internal Affairs concerning compensation for material loss inflicted on the Guzhov family by officials of the Nizhnekolymsky Rayon Section of Internal Affairs [ROVD]. The Supreme Court of Yakutiya upheld this action. The Guzhov's money has been returned in full.

This fact in itself is noteworthy. Therefore, we felt it useful to provide the background leading up to it.

Two years ago on 2 September seven nets in the village of Chersky belonging to a fishermen's cooperative working the Kolyma River disappeared. It is unclear why the investigators worked with such enviable "effectiveness," but on 5 October events started to develop with startling speed. On that day V. Guzhov was arrested right at work on suspicion of theft. He was placed in isolation for questioning, and a detail of policemen was sent to his apartment.

Nina Vasilyevna had already put her children Romka and Alenka to bed when she heard the doorbell ring and ran to open the door thinking that her husband was returning home. Policemen were standing at the door. They were policemen O. Istratov, S. Lyzlov and V. Tishchenko, and alongside them stood V. Purin and I. Guly from the criminal investigation department. Nina Vasilyevna also saw two of her neighbors V. Chepak and P. Yakovenko. She was told that the authorities were there to search her apartment and that her neighbors would be witnesses.

The man who ordered the search, senior militia investigator A. Valiakhmetov, however, was not there.

"So, ma'am, we're going to look for what your husband stole. Would you like to tell us where it's hidden?"

Purin and Lyzlov took one of the witnesses and Mrs. Guzhov and set out to search the Guzhov's storage shed that stood on the bank of the Kolyma. They were out in a biting wind-driven snowfall. The witness and Mrs. Guzhov froze outside in the cold while the militiamen went through the things in the shed in search of the nets. At the same time Major Guly and his helpers turned the apartment upside down (in Mrs. Guzhov's absence, we note). The children, who had awakened, got frightened and ran around the room not knowing where to hide.

The search did not end until well after midnight. When Nina Vasilyevna, chilled by the cold, returned home, the children with tear-stained faces were sitting in the kitchen. She could not hold back the tears. What could she tell them? How could she explain to the neighbors? Gossip would be all around the village....

There had been enough upset. But really, could Guzhov be completely innocent if the policemen searched his apartment? Although Guzhov really did not seem like that kind..., and the nets hadn't been found. It is true that even Guzhov's nets were taken. In addition two guns and a boat were stolen--nothing insignificant about that. The owners of these things never saw them again.

Where was the alert eye of those responsible for surveillance? Unfortunately, the rayon procurator V. Sleptsov closed his eyes to illegality. Before permitting Guzhov's arrest and the search of his apartment, he should have checked Valiakhmetov's assertions and evaluated his "evidence." If he had, it would have become clear that the investigator was hurrying the process in order for it to fit the answer he needed. Valiakhmetov did not want to sully his record with an unsolved case. The year was ending and he had to send a report to Yakutsk. This decided Guzhov's fate.

To avoid blackening someone's reputation and future really requires very little: just do your job completely honestly. Sleptsov was in no hurry to do this. He questioned Guzhov only after several days when he also studied the "evidence," and only then recognized the miscarriage of justice.

After seven days Guzhov was released. The investigation continued. After Valiakhmetov was relieved of the case, Major Ignatyev from a neighboring rayon was called in to take over the case. However, he also, apparently to accomodate his "suffering" colleague, began his work with a gross violation of procedure. Guzhov at this time did not hide the fact that he would not be silent and would demand punishment for those who broke the law. He decided to fly to Yakutsk. However, an unidentified person called him at his apartment and warned him that he would not be permitted to leave Chersky. Then Nina decided to go to Yakutsk with her daughter. They boarded a plane one January morning but got no more than a third of the way to Yakutsk. At Chokurdakha where they had to change planes they were taken off the flight and sent back to Chersky on orders from Ignatyev. Ignatyev himself met them at the airport and took them by car to the militia station. They put Nina in an office so that she would not obstruct the investigation and then proceeded to interrogate Nina's eight year old daughter.

I read the report in which Alenka's testimony was entered. There were only a few words. She could not "help" the investigation, she cried and she did not understand what they wanted from here. They "only" wanted testimony about her father's crime.

The prejudice and arbitrariness of the local militia and procurator's office convinced the Guzhovs that they would not find justice here.

Nina had failed to break through the barrier, but maybe her husband would be luckier: the authorities had not demanded from him assurance that he would not leave the area (the republic procurator's office had scrupulously refrained from doing this), so Victor decided to go to Moscow. Together with his children--there was nobody with whom he could leave them at the time--he set out on this long trip. Again the trip turned out to be a short one. Purin was waiting for him at the Chersky airport. He conscientiously carried Ignatyev's orders and took them off the plane. Purin returned the tickets to the ticket office, although Guzhov for some reason did not get his money back.

During these trying days the Guzhov's thought that the whole world was against them and they could not find help anywhere. It is clear that they were mistaken. Their complaint had reached the RSFSR Procurator's Office and the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR. A commission arrived in Chersky. Previously, the Yakutiya procurator's office had taken up the investigation. The experienced lawyer Nikolai Fyodorovich Borisov was in charge of the operation.

I must write about this man who showed tenacity, professionalism and humanity. On the day that Guzhov learned that the affair was over, his nerves failed him. He became paralyzed and lost the use of his legs. At the same time Romka suffered a severe appendicitis attack. Nikolai Fyodorovich himself sent Romka to the hospital for an operation, called an ambulance for Victor and phoned Vodokanal where Guzhov worked and told them to show compassion to their co-worker. Some women from the collective brought some sweets. However, the bitterness of the sick man did not lessen. What kind of compassion does one get with a procurator's phone call?

Many of the participants in this drama have left Chersky. Valiakhmetov has retired--this is the "punishment" that he received. Purin left for Dnepropetrovsk with flattering recommendations to work in criminal investigation. He is very concerned about his career and recently even visited our editorial offices because he had heard that this paper had taken up this story. Guly is still in Chersky diligently looking for the nets. Besides Valiakhmetov, everyone who participated in this extraordinary event in this arctic village received harsh reprimands. Procurator Sleptsov was relieved of his job.

In completing this story I would like to add the following detail: The Ministry of Internal Affairs of Yakutiya did not agree with the decision of the rayon court about which we spoke. The republic supreme court considered

the appeal and rejected it. Justice, as it should, won out: the honor and worth of a man were defended. The Guzhev's were reimbursed for all their material losses. This should be the end of the story. However, one troubling question remains. How could such a thing happen?

One could probably agree with the opinion of the leaders of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Yakutiya who stressed the severe shortage of personnel there. Many "varangians" come out to Yakutiya. Of course it is more difficult to select people for posts and to check their work there than it would be in cities like Kuibyshev, Orenburg or Kiev. Considering these difficulties, maybe we should not rush to make appointments. We should be sure that the candidate is absolutely honest and that militia stations and departments in the remote corners of Yakutiya can trust him.

Raising standards in the selection of personnel is the order of the day. Materials of the CPSU Central Committee January plenary session targeted this need. Genuine democracy does not exist outside the law.

An extraordinary event took place in this arctic kray, it seems, also because the "defenders of the law" in Chersky lived in a world without controls and punishment where anything was acceptable. They felt that they were the masters in this village, lost in the snows of the north. Without the complicity of the former leaders of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Yakutiya (now this department is headed by new people who have done much to strengthen militia ranks), could the Nizhnekolymsky ROVD staff have engaged in illegality so unnoticed? Certainly without that complicity Valiakhmetov's first serious misstep would have been his last. In fact his personal affairs during the last four years contain a good ten examples of punishment for missing work, arbitrariness and gross violation of socialist legality. However, he remained on the job, the ruler of people's destinies! It turned out that he was punished only for show. Are not reprimands to which one gets accustomed a certain type of complicity? One is not pushed to change and gets even more brazen. From the absence of punishment to tyranny is only one step....

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SOCIAL ISSUES

KaSSR: RURAL DRUDGERY FORCES YOUTH INTO CITIES

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata BILIM ZHANE ENGBEK in Kazakh No 12, December 1986 carries on page 22 a 1,000-word article by Aytbala Bamaghambetova and Galina Skalina, published under the rubric "Young Scientist's Forum," entitled "Migration of Young People." Bamaghambetova and Skalina discuss the causes of migration from rural to urban areas--which they characterize as a virtually universal phenomenon--and the problems that such migration creates for those remaining behind.

According to Bamaghambetova and Skalina, it is primarily the drudgery of rural life and the lack of job opportunities and amenities which force young people to migrate, resulting in rural labor shortage, unbalanced (age-sex) rural population structures, and broken families. They suggest that the only proven way to halt the flood is to improve rural conditions through mechanization, new technology, and improved organization of rural production. Otherwise, they lament, the successors of those who are now the backbone of the rural sector will not be found.

/9274

CSO: 1832/415

SOCIAL ISSUES

USSR PROCURACY OFFICIAL COMMENTS ON LAW ENFORCEMENT IN TuSSR

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 10 Dec 86 pp 2-3

[Interview with S. A. Shishkov, USSR deputy procurator general and state legal councilor of the first rank, by SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA ZAKONNOST stringer Ye. Orazgeldyev, and TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA correspondent V. Antonishin, under the "Economics and Law" rubric: "Responsibly, Exactingly: A Discussion with the Deputy Procurator General of the USSR"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Having adopted a course aimed at the acceleration of the country's social and economic development, the party has set as a top-priority task the intensification of production and a growth in labor productivity on the basis of scientific and technical progress and assiduous management.

Along with other measures, a great deal of importance is being devoted in this regard to the struggle against violations of socialist legality, to strengthening discipline and order, and to increasing accountability for work entrusted to each individual--from worker to minister. This is no accident. Poor-quality output, the embezzlement of socialist property and report-padding are tolerated at many enterprises and construction projects, and other illegal actions that inflict substantial damage on the state are committed.

A large field for activity is granted to the law-enforcement agencies in this area.

A group of employees of the USSR Prosecutor's Office was recently in Turkmenistan. It familiarized itself with the production activity of a number of collectives and with the state of work at agencies of the prosecutor's office, and with the resolution of other complex problems.

Ye. Orazgeldyev, stringer for the magazine SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA ZAKONNOST and V. Antonishin, correspondent for TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA, conducted an interview on this topic with the group's leader, S. A. Shishkov, USSR deputy procurator general and state legal councilor of the first rank.

[QUESTION] The uncompromising struggle against violations of socialist legality that is being conducted in our country is bearing fruit. In your opinion, Sergey Aleksandrovich, how does our republic appear against this

backdrop? Are measures that we are taking in this area sufficiently effective?

[ANSWER] It's clear that Turkmenistan could in no way remain uninvolved in the resolution of such pressing problems. The sixth plenary session of the Turkmenistan CP Central Committee adopted an important resolution on flagrant violations of party and state discipline, aiding and abetting report-padding, hoodwinking, bribe-taking, defrauding the state and distortions in implementing personnel policy in the Tashauz Oblast party organization. One must suppose that putting this document into practice will make it possible to identify dishonest people and to stop abuses.

However, the state of affairs as a whole in the republic is cause for serious concern in this regard. Judge for yourselves. Nonproduction expenditures are growing in several branches of the economy and instances of wastefulness and mismanagement have not been eliminated. Last year losses from waste, embezzlement and spoilage of the people's property totaled 4 million rubles in the republic. In the first half of this year they have increased even more in the ministries of trade and consumer services and in the Turkmenistan Union of Consumer Trade Cooperatives.

Abuse of office by individuals inflicts a good deal of damage. Embezzlement on a large scale, even on a massive scale, has come to light in subdivisions of Goskumnefteprodukt, Gostrudsbekas, the ministries of light industry and trade, and the former ministries of the food and cotton ginning industries.

[QUESTION] Just who are the law-breakers?

[ANSWER] For example, the director of the Cheleken Petroleum Base, Amangeldyev, conspired with operator Temirkhanov to steal 36,000 rubles. A cashier at the Tedzhen Petroleum Base, Charyev, appropriated a much larger sum--373,000 rubles. Yet another fact: Lack of control over the activity of executives at the cotton mills in Tashauz Oblast came to 8 million rubles.

The uninitiated are preplexed: How can one intrigue in a savings bank? Yet Atabayev, director of the central savings bank in Oktyabrskiy rayon of Tashauz Oblast, Senior Cashier Bazarkuliyev and Chief Accountant Galychtaganov stole 180,000 rubles by forging documents and confiscating State loan debentures.

There are many such examples. In 1985 officials committed nearly half of the crimes associated with the embezzlement of state property.

Why has this become possible? One reason is the neglected accounting of goods and materials. Audits are conducted, infrequently at that, without a deep analysis of the enterprise's activity. Last year, auditors were not seen at 66 enterprises of Gosagroprom, 13 of Goskumizdat and 15 of the TSSR Ministry of Water Resources. Audits have not been conducted for more than two years at over 50 enterprises.

In light of this, can one really be surprised at how the swindlers and rogues can live so idly?

In and of itself, needless to say, restitution should be made for damages. But in many cases this is not done for some reason. For example, of the total amount of money stolen, only about 12 percent was returned to the state. Collectives of the Ministry of the Building Materials Industry made restitution for only 1.1 percent of losses, the Ministry of Trade 3.3 percent and the former Ministry of the Food Industry 0.5 percent. As a rule, they ascribe these debts to production costs, thereby shielding the guilty parties.

Unfortunately, agencies of the republic's prosecutor's office are making little use of their rights and possibilities for halting crimes and ensuring restitution for damages inflicted on the state, and they do not always strive to achieve this from executives of farms and the legal services of enterprises and organizations.

[QUESTION] Report-padding, hoodwinking, defrauding the state, and the desire of some employees to embellish their activity are a great evil in our life. In this same way, Leninist principles of management are distorted, and the accountability of people for the section of work entrusted to them is reduced.

We would like to hear how things stand in the republic in this regard, and the status of work being conducted to eradicate such instances.

[ANSWER] Report-padding is no rare phenomenon in the republic. One encounters it most often in the report documents of kolkhozes, sovkhoses and construction, transport and repair-and-construction organizations. The amount of report-padding, unfortunately, continues to grow. Over the first nine months of this year it increased by 2.744 million rubles. Last year the amount of output sold was artificially inflated by 13 million rubles, and construction and installation operations by 1.736 million rubles.

Reporting is being systematically distorted in the Ministry of Construction, Turkmeniavlenergo, Glavkarakumstroi, and VPO Turkmengazprom. Executives of the Ministry of Construction, for example, frequently do not react to reports from the Capital Investments Bank or the State Bank on such instances and do not hold the guilty individuals to account. Sensing the atmosphere of impunity, executives of Construction and Installation Administration No. 2 of the Turkmentsentrostroi at just one site engaged in report-padding totalling one-half million rubles and illegally paid out 50,000 rubles in wages. The prosecutor's office has now become involved in this matter.

Or here's another example. M. Dzhumakuliyev, TuSSR Minister of Construction, gave bonuses to the executives of Turkmentsentostroi and the Marykhimstroi trust in spite of report-padding. Even though the republic prosecutor's office appealed the orders, the minister refused to rescind them for a lengthy period of time. The same sort of situation exists in the Glavkarakumstroi. Last year more than one-half of the subdivisions had artificially inflated work volumes. Instead of punishment, the guilty individuals received bonuses.

[QUESTION] How did the law-enforcement agencies react to this?

[ANSWER] Agencies of the republic prosecutor's office are taking steps to eliminate such anti-state practices. As a result of check-ups this year, 9

criminals cases were instituted, 80 briefs were introduced, 160 officials were brought to disciplinary account, and 80 made material restitution.

However, we believe that this work must be conducted more actively and that an atmosphere of intolerance and universal condemnation must be created for violators. The Central Statistical Administration, State Bank, Capital Investments Bank, Ministry of Finances and other organizations must increase effective control.

[QUESTION] The documents of the 27th CPSU Congress attach great importance to increasing the technical level and quality of output. A rather important role in the resolution of this problem is accorded the law-enforcement agencies. In your opinion, how well are they fulfilling this task?

[ANSWER] A proper question. No one can stand idly by an important cause. In his speech to a CPSU Central Committee meeting, M. S. Gorbachev noted that life itself has placed questions of quality on the agenda and at the center of restructuring. It can be no other way since low quality and defective output constitute the squandering of labor and raw material resources, and of national property. It is no accident that the party has instituted the formal state acceptance of output.

An enormous amount of work needs to be done. It is necessary to increase the technical outfitting of enterprises, to improve the technology and organization of labor and to activate the human factor. Therefore, we have been scrutinizing this problem locally. It should be said that party, soviet and law-enforcement agencies are taking steps to influence those who produce poor-quality, below-standard and incomplete sets of output. However, these steps are clearly inadequate.

I will dwell on one fact. Since the beginning of the year, poor-quality output totaling almost 3 million rubles--which is more than the total last year--has been taken off the sales plan. Half a million rubles in fines have been recovered and more than 170,000 rubles of profit have been confiscated.

The production of unsuitable output is especially great at enterprises of the TuSSR Gosagroprom. A total of 39 claims for replacement of defective output was received by the Mary Initial Wool Processing Mill in Poltoratskiy. Fines totaling 852,000 rubles were recovered. A criminal case was instituted against the guilty individuals. The senior engineer of the Tashauz Tomato and Canned Goods Plant's technical oversight department was called to account for repeatedly producing defective output and the enterprise suffered damages totaling more than 100,000 rubles. Unfortunately, it is difficult for me to name others guilty of producing defective output because enterprise executives rarely call them to material account.

[QUESTION] The figures that you cite are cause for serious concern. Workers who produce defective output inflict great damages on the state. What has brought about the production of defective output?

[ANSWER] There are many causes. The executives of a number of enterprises do not concern themselves with the technical reequipment of shops, improving the

organization of labor and production, or increasing the skills of personnel. But chiefly--they do not display lofty exactingness toward the workers who produce defective output. Of equal importance is the fact that the technical oversight service does a poor job and frequently tolerates producers of defective output.

[QUESTION] Are the agencies of the prosecutor's office taking steps to bring criminal charges against them?

[ANSWER] We recently had a discussion on this subject with executives, chief engineers and directors of enterprises' technical oversight departments at the prosecutor's office in Leninskiy rayon of the city of Ashkhabad. One thing is indicative: They all tried to justify the production of poor output by so-called objective reasons.

L. Mitsay, director of a haberdashery-goods plant, ascribed to this point of view. The raw materials are bad, it was said, and they are not delivered with any regularity, etc. Yet after all, more than 90 percent of the items are produced in accordance with specifications under the very same conditions. This means that the problem lies elsewhere--in defective methods of management. G. Avagimyan, director of the Ashkhabad Meat and Canned Goods Combine, tried to blame the production of poor-quality output on production conditions. But in fact, the enterprise systematically violated technological standards for processing and producing meat products. As a result of quality inspections, the TuSSR Ministry of Trade twice banned their release into the trade network. For this same reason sanctions in the form of fines were leveled against the executives of a furniture factory and an association that produces consumer goods.

All of them were forewarned of the impermissability of continuing to violate laws that regulate the production of food products and consumer goods.

One of the strict measures aimed at producers of defective output, as is known, is the institution of the formal state acceptance of output at enterprises of the industrial ministries. There is no need to discuss the extraordinary importance of this decision; it should be clear to all. But it is alarming that the executives of certain enterprises and organizations are not displaying the proper persistence in restructuring work under new conditions. At the same time, their accountability, just like the accountability of the technical oversight services, not only is not decreasing, but on the contrary, is growing. A wait-and-see attitude under the given conditions is inappropriate. The interests of this matter also require a significant strengthening of oversight by the prosecutor's office.

[QUESTION] Now, at a time when the scales of the economy are expanding and specialization and cooperation are being improved, special importance attaches to the fulfillment of plans for the delivery of output, raw materials, and other materials. Do you think that discipline with respect to deliveries is at a proper level in the republic?

[ANSWER] You have touched on an important problem. After all, the assessment of the results of economic activity by collectives of associations,

enterprises and organizations will be based on how well they meet their contractual commitments. But not everyone realizes the seriousness of these measures. In a number of places the situation with regard to deliveries is not good. Last year Turkmenistan's enterprises paid out more than 2 million rubles in fines for failure to adhere to this index.

There are many other serious shortcomings in the area of economics in the republic. Existing schedules for the installation of industrial equipment are being violated, idle time for equipment and transport is great, and excessive consumption of material, raw material and energy resources is being tolerated. There are many violations in the area of agriculture.

I would like to stress, however, that the aforementioned shortcomings, omissions and errors can in no way lessen the selfless and creative labor of tens of thousands of workers, peasants and office personnel. Restructuring is underway in the republic and it is already bearing fruit.

In conclusion, I will note that a good many shortcomings have also been identified in the work of agencies of the prosecutor's office. They are still doing a poor job of conducting the struggle against the violators of soviet laws and against those who feast on socialist property, and the rights, freedoms and interests of soviet citizens.

Steps are being taken to intensify the activity of the law-enforcement agencies. It is incumbent upon them to be on the front line of the battle against negative phenomena and to make a worthy contribution to the implementation of the course taken by the party toward a strengthening of the Homeland's economic might and an increase in the material well-being and cultural level of soviet people. Have no doubt that the working people of Turkmenistan, following this path, will achieve new successes in all sections of communist construction.

13149

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SOCIAL ISSUES

TURKMEN WRITER DENOUNCES BRIDE PRICE, RELATED RITUALS

PM091257 Moscow TRUD in Russian 7 Jan 87 p 4

["Frank Conversation" with Turkmen writer Toushan Esenova by TASS correspondent Ye. Prikhodko: "Brides Know Their Price..."]

[Text] Ashkhabad--It was called a Komsomol wedding, but it took place according to the ancient rite, with bride-money. Such a thing happens nowadays in Turkmenia. A saying which seemed to have vanished into the past is also still tenacious--you can make a gift of a horse, but you can only sell a daughter. This was how Toushan Esenova, people's writer of Turkmenia, commented on the contents of an impressive bundle of letters sent to her from different corners of the republic.

The writer is known in Turkmenia as the author not only of anthologies of poetry and plays but also of impassioned publicistic articles against the shameful bride-money custom. In the 1930's she herself threw down a challenge to survivals from the past by saddling a horse and joining a flying club to learn how to fly.

The letters have already been answered, but there is a continuing need to ponder a phenomenon which disfigures the destinies of young people.

[Prikhodko] Toushan Esenovna, does the abundance of anxious letters not indicate that people do not always receive assistance locally--from party and Komsomol organizations, soviets, women's councils...?

[Esenova] Unsystematic campaigns do great harm to the struggle against survivals from the past. Following the publication of a series of my articles, councils and commissions for new rites were set up, village meetings were held, and agitprop work was stepped up. But in time the offensive petered out. Bride-money, alas, continues to live and thrive. Only now it is even better disguised: Whereas shawls, robes, lengths of material, and rams used to serve as payment for a bride, this has now taken a monetary form--sometimes tens of thousands of rubles. Although many people know who gives and takes bride-money, they frequently keep quiet: It is a crime punishable by criminal law. Sometimes you hear: "Is it worth dramatizing all this in this way?" One letter spoke of a

tragedy. K. Koshegldy, a young worker from Shatlyk, and his sweetheart decided to get married. There was no question of bride-money: The young man had grown up without parents and knew the value of a well-earned kopek. But then another claimant intervened, in whose eyes the "poverty-stricken" fellow was simply not considered human. The young man was cunningly and perfidiously murdered on the eve of the wedding. Witnesses to the crime covered up for each other and led the investigation away from the truth, protecting the "custom of their forefathers." That, you see, is more dear than a human life.

[Prikhodko] We sometimes hear appeals for a new, "intelligent" attitude toward bride-money. It is said to reveal concern for a strong family hearth, for young people's material security...

[Esenova] It is cynical to screen bride-money behind concern for the family. It makes not spirituality but the fetish of monetary wealth the family's foundation. But benefits have to be won by labor. Is such sufficiency moral when the bride and groom themselves have frequently not worked to earn even a loaf of bread but receive expensive carpets, suites of furniture, color television sets, and sometimes even cars for their wedding? Consumerism gives rise to social inertia and moral deformities and harms society.

Do you know what is particularly alarming? Only some 8-10 years ago the shameful custom, as a rule, aroused a protest and active opposition in the souls of young people. Now the passion for things and accumulation has struck such deep roots that girls themselves set their own price. It has become an unwritten rule that a bride has gold crowns put on healthy teeth before her wedding at the groom's family's expense. Heavy gold rings made to order drag down the ear lobes of 18-year-old brides.

In my view it is right to regard bride-money as a refined form of unearned income. I am profoundly convinced that the multithousand-ruble "payments" for a bride are not built up from labor earnings. As a rule, we have large families, and weddings follow one after another. On your wages you cannot really undertake to buy a length of panne for R400 in the "second-hand market" (and there are sometimes dozens of dresses in a trousseau)!

The "strong hearth" about which the defenders of bride-money speak is essentially domestic slavery for a woman bought like a chattel. And everyone knows of places where things are in a bad way. At the Nokhur village soviet in Bakhardenskiy Rayon, for example, more than half of all marriages are contracted according to the religious custom, which includes bride-money.

The struggle must begin in school. A young girl frequently prepares her trousseau almost before she has learned how to hold a needle. She becomes the slave of her trousseau, which becomes her sole aim and narrows her horizon to the size of a needle's eye. But Komsomol members in school shamefully shield their eyes.

After their studies girls frequently sit at home like recluses for several years, waiting for grooms. Take, for example, the small town of Khitrovka, which is known to everyone in Ashkhabad. I learned recently that approximately 700 nonworking girls live there. Why does the Komsomol rayon committee, above all, do nothing about them...?

[Prikhodko] Toushan Esenova, do you not think that public opinion would be considerably more uncompromising toward this survival if literature and art fulfilled their mission more fully here?

[Esenova] Let us hope that we have finally seen an end to the recent "ostrich policy" of burying your head in the sand and suggesting to yourself that nothing terrible is happening. I wrote the play "The Bride Comes," directed against bride-money, in 1972. But it saw the footlights only in 1979. I was able to write several works while I was doing the rounds of offices.

Unfortunately, until recently the fate of pointed, topical works was frequently decided by people who long ago stopped hearing the voice of life. Not every talented person was strong enough to grapple with the bureaucrat and overcautious person and not renounce his civic stance. There is no denying that many of us developed a fear of the unvarnished truth. Books condemning bride-money do appear, but still no strong blow is being dealt to this survival in the republic, probably not in a single sphere of art.

In short, life demands that we must go on the offensive again.

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CSO: 1830/370

REGIONAL ISSUES

ESTONIA CHANGES TO NEW WAGE SYSTEM

Moscow GOLOS RODINY in Russian No 49, Dec 86 p 3

[Article by ESSR Supreme Soviet Chairman Arnold Ryuytel: "On the Way to Acceleration"]

[Text] Today's most characteristic trait of USSR economic development is, perhaps, the need to shift from extensive economic methods to intensive ones. This challenge was fully articulated by the 27th CPSU Congress and has now emerged as one of the main aims of socialist society's development.

The shift to an intensive production model requires profound changes. The first among them is changing or improving the way workers are being paid. In our country, this is not just an economic question but a political one as well. The worker must feel himself a true owner of the enterprise.

Estonia is the first of the Union republics to shift entirely to the new wage system. Its implementation will begin January 1, 1987, and will expand as more enterprises get ready. First of all, enterprises will have to earn additional funds to pay labor according to new wage rates. This will entail using equipment more efficiently, creating better conditions for workers to spend their free time, to satisfy their domestic, social, and cultural needs, to improve their educational level and skills, etc. It is well-known that the less time and energy a man spends arranging his daily life, the greater his contribution at the work place.

Who will help people to free themselves from the many cares of everyday life? First of all, the authorities, soviets and people's deputies. They bear the main responsibility for developing the service sector: improving restaurants and cafeterias, services, and public transportation; changing, wherever necessary, hours of child care centers; and doing whatever else is needed in a complex society once many enterprises shift to more intense work schedules.

There is no doubt that the impending wage reform will have major social consequences. Indeed, the attitude toward work is in a large measure determined by the material and moral compensation for its results. On the other hand, people's attitudes toward each other largely depend on their

attitudes toward their work. I do not think I will be mistaken if I say that relations between nationalities in our republic have the same work-related foundation: people's diligence at work.

Of course, the question of relations between nationalities, even if limited to Estonia's experience, can not be reduced to just one factor. One should not write off the system of distribution of labor between union republics that has developed in our country, nor numerous instances of disinterested international assistance, nor the socialist ideology that is internationalist by nature, nor historical experience, nor much, much more. But still, just evaluation of a person's labor should not be underestimated.

By working to increase the common welfare, a person expresses his attitude toward society. Yet, he perceives his own social status through others' assessment of his labor. When this assessment is just and is translated into certain material, spiritual, and social goods, complete social justice is achieved.

Whenever principles of social justice are violated--when, regardless of their personal contribution, some clearly get too much, and other too little, of the goods provided by society--people are usually lost at first and then start to search for the root causes of such an attitude toward them.

Some may develop an overly high opinion of their merits and start to think they are exceptional and infallible. This leads to perversion of democratic principles and stagnation and conservatism on the field of one's activities.

Others often become unable to analyze and evaluate the facts of daily life and at times accidentally draw wrong conclusions, or accept slanted explanations suggested to them by eager "friends" from the Western propaganda centers.

From the time Soviet power was first established, their chorus has not stopped to broadcast daily: "You suffer in the USSR because you are an Estonian, a Jew, an Uzbek; or a believer, a member of a privileged class, a fighter" for an unknown cause, etc. Those "truths," even though are grating because of their banality, nonetheless still find followers especially when principles of social justice are violated.

The same factor influences relations between representatives of different nationalities. Here, labor is a solid criterium for correctly judging oneself and justly assessing others. A true worker always respects working people no matter to what nationality or what race they belong.

Moreover, when a person working next to you does so with a true interest and enthusiasm--and is highly regarded by the collective--you will sooner or later ask yourself why. And the more you know about him, and his life, interests and hobbies, the more you will become immersed in the cultural heritage of his people.

To use scientific language, higher prestige of honest labor inevitably elicits interest among representatives of different nationalities toward the most valuable elements of other nationalities' culture: namely, those which help instill love for labor, discipline, responsibility, and self-respect.

This is why I have reason to believe that successful implementation of the wage reform in our republic must bring various nationalities living in Estonia even closer together and help further the principles of true social justice. This is confirmed by the unconditional support on the part of Soviet Estonia's workers for the CPSU policy after the April 1985 Plenum which was confirmed and broadened by the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress. The shift to the new wage system is another true example of the policy's implementation.

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REGIONAL ISSUES

TuSSR: SIXTY PERCENT OF PRODUCTS SUBSTANDARD

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 19 December 1986 carries on page 1 a 1,000-word lead editorial headlined "Let's Finish the Year Successfully." Pointing out that "if product quality is poor, no one wants it," the editorial adds that in November 54 factories were unable to meet production plans and 53 were unable to meet plans for product sales. "Since the beginning of this year close to 60 percent of production has not met standards. Leaders of these factories had promised not only that they would meet the plan, but that they would do so ahead of schedule. Now, unable to keep their promises, they are trying to appear innocent by mouthing various excuses."

CONSUMER GOODS PRODUCTION TO INCREASE IN TURKMENIA

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 26 December 1986 carries on page 1 a 1,000-word lead editorial headlined "The Economy and Social Progress" discussing increases to be made in the sector of consumer goods production. "A great place has been given to important programs like increasing the production of consumer goods, developing the service sector, and expanding construction of public and residential buildings. Next year the amount of consumer goods production will increase 14.8 percent. The general amount of paid services for the population will increase 10.8 percent and will exceed 5-year plan quotas." In addition, residential housing construction will "improve residential dwelling conditions for approximately 120,000 people."

FRUITS, VEGETABLES ROTTING IN TuSSR WAREHOUSES

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 5 December 1986 carries on page 3 a 400-word report from the TuSSR People's Control Committee headlined "We Must Protect Fruits and Vegetables Against Spoilage." The report notes that "as shown in a study, the material-technical base of the fruit and vegetable industry has been equipped unsatisfactorily for the preservation of fruits, vegetables, and even potatoes. One of Ashkhabad's two storage facilities, for example, was built in 1968 "and has not undergone major repairs since that day." Its refrigeration system no longer functions effectively. Similar malfunctions affect warehouses in Bayramaly Rayon and other locations in Mary, Chardzhou, and Tashauz Oblasts.

REGIONAL ISSUES

LARGE-SCALE THEFT, COTTON GROWING PROBLEMS IN USSR CITED

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 7, 11 Feb p 12

[Article by Kapitolina Kozhevnikova and Vladimir Sokolov, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA special correspondents, under the rubric "Man and Economics": "A Black Shadow on the White Gold"]

[Text] It cannot be said that, for Uzbekistan, this was a celebrated court case, although I would not call it an ordinary one, after having familiarized myself sufficiently with it. In the Zarbdarskiy Rayon of Dzhizak Oblast, they tried a group of managers and specialists from two state farms, who had been accused of stealing more than a million rubles.

This is not the only such trial that has been held in the republic during recent years. The Zarbdarskiy story, in fact, attracted our attention precisely because it was a typical one. Fictitious payroll records were compiled, listing thousands of "dead souls" (virgin-land state farms, people coming and going endlessly). The State Bank, naturally, paid out live money on the basis of these payrolls. Where did it go? They used it at state procurement points to buy invoices for the delivery of products which they did not deliver. The money went for bribes, for graft--because these weak farms were not able to fulfill their plans through their own efforts. It was easier to take a well-beaten path: to deceive, to hoodwink, to pad figures, and to steal. And all this so that, in the report, a consciously unprofitable farm would not look worse than others.

The director of the Kommunizm state farm, Maksuda Karimova, was sentenced to 30 years imprisonment. The same fate befell the state farm's cashier, its chief bookkeeper -- a total of 15 people altogether.

A woman, a former brigade leader, a former director, a former Hero of Socialist Labor... A sad fate. But it could not be otherwise under a system such as has developed over the years within the republic. The plan is unrealistic? We will "fulfill" it by means of padding and deception. Next year, of course, quotas will be even higher -- but we'll continue to base our planning on the achieved level! This only means that padded figures will also be higher. And they grew like a snowball.

This took place in the virgin lands, on the Dzhezak steppe.

And, then, there is Akhmadzhan Odilov. He lived in the Fergana Valley, in a thriving oasis. He headed up a certain mythical agro-industrial association. What a modern name! In fact this was the uncontrolled private estate of a resourceful, brutal man. The lion's share of the "final product", which Odilov boasted so much about, went into his own deep pockets.

These are, of course, different kinds of people, Karimova and Odilov. And what they did falls under different categories of the law. But the essence is the same.

Cotton, the principle wealth of this land, -- no other republic provides us so much "white gold"! -- has suddenly ceased to be its pride and glory.

What has happened to them, to the relationships which exist between cotton and the man who cultivates it? A great deal has been written about the Uzbek cotton incidents. And everywhere it's the same thing: bribery, padding of figures, efforts to hoodwink. They lay many such cases out before us at the republic's procuracy. Each of them staggers, stuns, and angers us. But ... it seems that one can grow accustomed even to such things.

Time passes, many things are clarified and, as they say, the dust settles. The criminals receive what they deserve. And for us, it is necessary to understand, to think about what has happened. Indeed, people have to live and work on this land. And it isn't Uzbekistan alone that now faces these difficult questions. Figure-padding has been discovered in Kazakhstan, in Moldavia, and in other places. A common element is being now detected in these "negative phenomena". This means that we cannot simply rest on the fact that a wrong-doing has been punished. Indeed, it is also possible to punish wrong-doing in such a way that it is celebrated as a virtue.

Breakdown in the "Based on the Achieved Level" Principle

Since time immemorial, brains and work have transformed the land of Uzbekistan. The irrigation canals, the fields, the fabled abundance of the gardens and vineyards on the slopes, the rows of mulberry trees along the roads -- all created on the waterless steppe, where only the tamarisk, the haloxylon and the camel thorn can survive on their own. The necessity of uninterrupted labor for centuries has shaped the character of the farmer and has determined his whole way of life.

The modern Uzbek peasant has climbed aboard a tractor, but he hasn't forgotten how to wield a hoe from sunrise to sunset under the boiling 60-degree sun, if he has to. Depending upon his income, a color television set may stand in his home, or only a collection of tea cups and saucers and, as before, his door is open for a friend, a guest or, simply, a casual caller. A love of work and hospitality -- these are the principle signature of the local national character which, as for all of us, is extremely complex.

It therefore was all the more painful to see what has happened to this character. The traditional respect for persons senior in age has been changed

into an unquestioning subordination to those senior in rank, peasant practicality has been transformed into narrow-mindedness, and a readiness to help one another has been turned into mutual denigration.

The appearance of the land itself is being inexorably altered. The gardens and flood-land woods and the pastures for grazing cattle have disappeared, the fields have turned gray from a coating of salt, and the fertility of the soils has declined. And, then, we have the economic crimes, for the most part "cotton" cases. It was very difficult to unravel them; their threads ended on the very doorsteps of oblast institutions until, in 1984 (after the death of Sh. Rashidov), an enormous abscess burst..

What lay at their source?

The republic broke the boundary of 5 million tons of raw cotton in 1975. During the 35 preceding years, cotton production increased 2.5-fold, but growth rates were slowing down -- indeed, the plantations had been moving out into the steppe, into the virgin lands, far from the inhabited oases. Extensive methods were becoming increasingly expensive, and the results gave no cause for joy.

Even then it had become clear that, for sure growth, profound changes were needed in cotton farming -- highly productive strains and new agro-technical approaches, increased soil fertility, improved quality of cotton-harvesting machinery -- in a word, what we, today, call intensification. However, such changes are realized through official instructions, but by searching, by initiative, and by boldness.

But then, official instructions also have their "advantages". The order to increase the rates of deliveries went out to the oblast and the rayons! Increase the area of cotton fields! At the expense of grain, at the expense of vegetables, at the expense of the traditional poplars next to the peasants' houses... And so, in many oblasts, the cotton plantations now come right up to the entrances of the peasants' homes.

Meanwhile, the figures mysteriously went up. In 1980, the republic harvested a little better than a million tons more than it had in 1975, and gross cotton production passed the mark, sacred for some, of 6 million tons. Rewards, speeches, applause...

But there is one small detail: In 1980, only 5 percent more fiber was obtained from the record gross production than in 1975, when gross production was a little more than a million tons lower. What the country needs is fiber, not cheerful reports about cotton harvests! Moreover, in terms of percentage, the fiber content in the record harvest declined by exactly as much as the harvest itself grew -- by 9 percent. The fiber, it would appear, was "diluted" by some kind of substance...

That year, as was later established, the padding of raw-cotton figures assumed a gigantic proportions.

It's hardly important now who first tried out the simple juggling trick: You buy a receipt from the director of the state procurement point for the delivery of nonexistent tons of cotton and you come out clean -- with a good amount and ahead of schedule. Possibly, it all began with a desire to look better in the competition than one's neighbor. But nobody then, in the beginning, discerned the social danger of "games" with reporting and nobody tried to discover the reasons for them.

But the knot tightened. The chairman ended up with a large overfulfillment of the plan and, the next year, the rayon plan took this fake figure as the "achieved level" and added its percentage to it. The chairman was in a spot. Accordingly, he had to look around again for ready cash...

A small loss, if everything had been limited to irresponsible chairmen. The trouble began when the republic's upper management levels, in creating the impression of a chain of uninterrupted successes, put forward the slogan: "The Plan for Cotton -- At Any Price!". The official instruction became the principle lever for managing agriculture -- where to sow, what and when. Heads rolled for deviation from the times set from above for watering and defoliation. Harvests had to be gathered in accordance with an approved timetable, regardless of the weather or the opening of the bolls. It was unimportant what means a farm used to obtain an above-plan harvest -- by introducing a new cotton variety and by diligent work, by hidden hectares which were not included in reporting, or by fake receipts from the procurement center. The stars, banners, and other honors went to the person who reported himself in first place, uninhibited by unimaginable figures, and the more difficult the year the easier it was for the shifty operators and the swindlers to worm their way into the ranks of the front-runners. Honest work became unprofitable, the honest laborer -- an obstacle to the wheelers-and-dealers.

There are now hundreds of managers who have been arrested for padding reports and for graft and who, in concert, are claiming they were following the orders of rayon authorities. These, in turn, are shifting the blame to the oblast. Of course, the oblast workers also have someone to whom they can point!

Competent authorities are now sorting out this tangle of mutual accusations. It is surprising, but they deceived and robbed the state using methods that are amazingly primitive. The economic mechanism of the agro-industrial complex turned out to be absolutely defenseless before these intriguers.

They Ordered Them and They Went

Here it is, the Kommunizm state farm, spread out, with its cotton fields, in the midst of the Dzhirgatal steppe. It is true that, following the arrest of its previous director, M. Karimova, the farm also lost its earlier name. For some reason, they shamefacedly renamed it ... the "Azerbaydzhan".

A special situation had developed in the virgin lands rayons. According to the logic of things, a contractor state farm must accept the work of small subcontractors. But, in the Uzbek virgin lands, as soon as they began to be developed, it was not the farmers who lived and worked on the new lands who

took charge of things there, but it was the builders of the irrigation systems -- the Sredazirsovkhozstroy production association. What they wanted to do, they did, supervising their own selves. And they spent enormous amounts of money. Indeed, development of the virgin lands is a sacred business!

They later saw the way that the construction workers had built the irrigation systems in many places, and they held their heads in their hands. They would have liked to do everything over from the start.

And the settlements! In truth, it is as if some evil spirit directed their creation. Depressing rows of buildings, dirt on the streets in the fall, heat, dust and flies in the summer.

The eternal gap, the eternal disproportion between development of the land and development of social, cultural and everyday services in the Uzbek virgin lands has been complicated by lack of attention to the way of life of the cotton worker. Just deliver the cotton, and the people will somehow manage to get along -- and the result was that the farmers were transformed into nomads, into rolling stones.

Cotton requires work from sunrise until sunset. In addition, the call to "produce - produce" was dependent at this echelon on the Uzbek peasant, the last link in the chain. One person might enrich himself, another person might cheat, but he worked on all the same. However, it was difficult for him to reconcile himself to the hard conditions of his life. At one time, his people were taken from their promised land and they went with their large families to the virgin lands. Some put down roots. But many, hearing that conditions were a little better or that there was a little more order at some state farm or another, set out again, wandering from place to place through the expanses of the steppe.

It is difficult to make new places habitable when a person feels not only uncomfortable, but also uncertain, in them. And where is certitude going to come from if he is estranged from what is, in essence, his native land by the bureaucratic mechanism of the state farm irrigation construction associations and the steppe construction association, whose main job it is to worm more money out of the state! In his oppressed situation, the Uzbek peasant now cannot, of course, consider this land his own. How can there be talk about him feeling that he is the master there?

...And so, back to the state farm, now called "Azerbaydzhan". Now there is a new young director there, Burkhan Teshabayev. Some things have changed. They have finished building a ten-year school, a consumer services center, and baths. In 1985, for the first time in 8 years, since the moment of its organization, it fulfilled its plan...

What is the life of the Uzbek peasant like here?

I was able, though not for long, to escape from under the watchful eyes of the oblast workers who were accompanying us and to talk awhile with, as the say, the first person I met. He turned out to be venerable, elderly man named Yeganzar Khatmatov. Gray-haired, in a padded robe, with the look of being

about 75 years old, not less. It turned out that he was only 62. The white sun of the desert and heavy labor had done their work. He had been born in the Uzbek village of Bulungur, which lies on the way from Dzhizak to Samarkand. He told now, 26 years ago, he left with his family to help assimilate the virgin lands in Syrdarya Oblast.

"What made you abandon a place that was familiar to you? Were things bad there?"

"It was good," Yeganazar answered, somewhat surprised at our dim-wittedness. "Who asked us? They gave the order: It is necessary to go to the virgin lands, and we went."

In 20 years, he didn't get used to living in Syrdarya Oblast, and he moved to Dzhizak Oblast. Well, now, in his retirement years, probably, he will remain here, with his children and his grandchildren? The old man shook his head, no, and clucked his tongue. No, he will go to Bulungur. The graves of his ancestors are there; his real home is there. And his sons don't want to live here...

Without being noticed, as if he had sprung from the earth, the familiar figure of the worker from the oblast State Agro-Industrial Administration appeared, in his raincoat with its long sleeves and his hardhat. The conversation came to an abrupt halt. Yeganazar turned silent and respectfully moved away from us.

This is not a collective farm near Penza or Yaroslavl, where they speak the truth directly, as if the Lord God Himself were there. This is Central Asia with its complex customs...

They take us to a home which, in the opinion of the young director, deserves our attention. We meet a thin man with an emaciated face. Dzhurakul Babanov works on a family contract. This form of organizing labor is occupying an increasingly large place in cotton-growing. Properly speaking, the large Uzbek families were created, as it were, in order to work together. Such sectors as silk growing and, often, vegetable farming and viticulture, have existed since olden times basically thanks to the family contract, although earlier this term was not in use.

In the busy time of the cotton harvest, the family puts out a call to its kinfolk from other villages, even oblasts. And a miracle starts to happen here. Under the guise of relatives, the head of the family -- they call him the brigade chief -- hires various folk, as they say, without kith or kin, without a tribe, who always have a need for temporary earnings. It is easy to transform these nomadic poor into "dead souls". Here you have the loophole for the abuses which brought the former director of the Azerbaydzhani state farm to the dock and which now hangs like a sword of Damocles over the young, present one.

Of course, it would be ridiculous to reject the family contract because such possibilities for abuse exist, when it is winning ground in all regions. But

we also must not discredit it through the continued existence of these possibilities.

We liked, incidentally, how contracts are being organized at the Uchkurgan state farm in Namangan Oblast. The family of driver Sabitkhona Yakubov, consisting of 11 children and a large number of grandchildren, is working harmoniously on 22 hectares assigned to it. The school children are working during their holidays. "They are getting used to the land", the head of the family says with pride. "They are learning everything well. Four daughters have graduated from technical high school with honors. One son has entered the agricultural institute, another has already graduated from there and is working as a teacher in the local school. In their spare time, they work on the cotton."

The family contract, of course, cannot be the leading method of organizing labor in cotton-growing, the main sector in the republic. It plays only a subsidiary role. But, if we are talking about the brigade contract or about cost accounting, then all this is being introduced very slowly. In the same Namangan Oblast, they have already been trying for 3 years now to untie the hands of the farmers. The brigade chief himself decides when he will plant the cotton, when to irrigate it, and when and with what manpower to harvest it. There is only one condition -- everything must be completed by 12 November so that the fields will have time to rest. The result is stable fulfillment of plans, good earnings and, moreover, harvests are taking place in the oblast without child labor and without bringing in city dwellers. But how strong the inertia of the order from above still is in many other oblasts! There has been no retreat from the obsolete, anti-democratic principle that all decisions will be made somewhere up there, almost in heaven, and that you, the cotton worker, will salute and carry them out. Nobody asks whether you agree with the directive which the wisest of the wise, sitting in the oblast and the republic centers, has thought up for your sake and on your behalf.

Don't Create an Idol

Academician Mirza-ali Mukhamedzhanov is one of the great experts of the Uzbek lands. He has found himself involved in one way or another in the complex situation of the last 20 years. He has not stayed silent and has not kow-towed before the powers that be, as many others have done, when he has clearly seen that they were leading the republic in the wrong direction. The health of his native land has worried the academician for a long time. And today the land has grown quiet, like a person who is seriously ill.

"Cotton has been turned into our only crop," he says. "This is an extraordinarily harmful thing for agriculture. In many of our fields, cotton plants have been grown in one and the same place for up to 50 years without interruption. This is exhausting the soil, sucking the juices from it. We need to treat the land with care, but we have tractors running over our fields up to 30 times a year. Cotton-growing equipment is mercilessly compacting the soil, killing the micro-organisms it contains, except for the Wilt's virus [virus vilta] -- a terribly infectious cotton disease. Plant immunity is low. Therefore, crop yields are also low. Little organic matter is being applied, but a great amounts of chemical poison are being used. They kill every living

thing in a field. How can this be avoided? A means has been known for a long, long time. Cotton should comprise 50-60 percent of the structure of sown areas, but it now comprises up to 85 percent in some oblasts. This is not normal. I am not proposing that we expand plantings of cotton but, to the contrary, that we reduce them somewhat, and sharply increase their yield level."

How can yield levels be increased? Lucerne crop rotation -- this is what the peasant has always used when cultivating cotton. Lucerne is an excellent forerunner for this industrial crop, which improves the structure of the soil and enriches it with valuable nitrogen. Moreover, with irrigation, it produces up to 5 or 6 hay-cuttings a year. Corn as well as sorghum can also be envisaged in this system. And, all together, this provides excellent feed for cattle and conditions for the development of animal husbandry. The farms, in turn, produce manure, an irreplaceable organic fertilizer for the exhausted cotton fields. It is the classic circle: cotton, lucerne, animal husbandry, manure, and all, taken together, fertile lands. And add to this new kinds of cotton plants and, further, the improved cotton harvesting equipment which has already been waiting unavailingly in the countryside for many years.

Doctor of Economic Sciences, Professor Favaris Kaymov, deputy director of the Central Asian Scientific Research Institute for Agricultural Economics of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni Lenin, speaks:

"I have pulled out data from 1940 and was very surprised. Lucerne fields then made up almost half of all cotton sowings. At the time, there were almost no mineral fertilizers. They counted mainly on crop rotation. Everyone also understands today that lucerne is necessary in cotton crop rotation. But there is no time, you see, to observe agricultural techniques -- it is necessary to fulfill the plan--even at the price of reducing the fertility of the land. If we successfully follow the path of intensification, if we sharply increase cotton yield levels, then we won't have to use such enormous areas for cotton. We also need melons -- where else can we grow them? -- and grapes, and pomegranates, and peaches."

We listened to the scientists and we considered such a modern and widespread concept as agricultural specialization. Our agricultural industry cannot consider anything else at the present time. Both geography and climate dictate that priority be given to particular kinds of crops in each zone. This is correct. But specialization must be sensible, without abnormal skewing. In Uzbekistan, this has degenerated into a dictate of a single crop, what's more, of such a specialized one as cotton.

In the beginning, cotton was transformed into a monoculture in a psychological sense, when all other the needs of the area were forced out of the consciousness of certain managers and when, later, normal crop rotation was forced out of the fields and everything else was forced out of the plans. Having been changed into almost one solid cotton plantation, Uzbekistan began a long, tragic experiment -- besides agriculture, to what extent is monoculture capable of eating away also at industry, education, health protection and, finally, public morale?

How can we sum up the results of this "experiment" today? As of 1984, cotton, to which everything has been sacrificed (including the normal life of citizens, with the continual, agonizing uprootings to go to "the cotton"), had the same yield level as in 1969. Only the expenditures grew. And how they grew, cutting across the entire economy of the republic! To this day, returns per ruble invested in industry continue to fall and the completion of new housing continues to fall. The leprosy of book-padding, which started in cotton-growing, has been found throughout the entire economy, and has spread to the social sphere, not avoiding culture and law enforcement organs.

They say -- don't create idols. Here we have created one. Cotton -- only cotton. Everything has degenerated into a deception of society, of our own selves, into empty rewards, into bribery.

So, should we "shut down" cotton? Of course, not. The country must have this lightest small fiber, for which there is no substitute. And only cotton can serve as a basis for Uzbekistan's sound prosperity. There is no paradox here; it must simply, in fact, take up no more than 6 out of every 10 hectares of tilled land. Compact but, to make up for this, highly productive plantations of cotton plants...

What, then, is restructuring under the, frankly, extremely specific conditions of Uzbekistan? It is necessary to give the "golden" land time to take a breath, to give the confused peasants an opportunity to again become the masters over it. We should not follow the ruinous path of extensive development, and should make the land well again, renew its fertility. Only correctly understood intensification will lead us to our goal.

It is easy to write: To do it, well -- in life, everything turns out to be difficult.

"The best people have been arrested" -- this phrase is repeated to us over and over again in the most varied organizations. Nobody, of course, thinks to interpret this literally -- Go on, they're in prison for cause! And, nevertheless, a regret shows through these words. The most experienced workers have turned out to have been drawn into crimes. And young and raw troops are working in the place of those who have gotten what they deserved.

At the Pakhtakor cotton cleaning plant in Dzhizak Oblast, we made the acquaintance of the young man who is fulfilling the responsibilities of director. Where his predecessor is -- there is no need even to ask. Ibragim Abduazizov has been in this position some two months. He has had to work, as the lawyers say, in the "criminal district". The point of contact of the state and collective farms with the produce procurement centers at these plants has become dangerous, because it is precisely here that poorly controlled percentages of moisture, impurities, and grade of cotton are transformed into uncontrolled money. An example is the sensational "Usmanov case". It was necessary to arrest and try the entire collegium of the Ministry of the Cotton Cleaning Industry, led by the Minister...

Such young specialists as Ibragim are having to restructure their own affairs. It is not the workers of the procuracy who, in the final analysis, will pull

the economy out of this quagmire! It is these young people, who are still unsure of themselves and who have come to this "criminal district", over which, in addition, the sins of their predecessors hang.

And to this day, one of the main knots of the cotton problems remains tied to the junction of the farm and the receiving center. How can it be untied? The scientists, economists, agro-industrial industry workers, and party workers -- all spoke to us about faults of the cotton procurement system which has laid down its roots over the decades. The procurers have become not only unnecessary, but are also a harmful intermediary between the producer and the state. The cotton worker is separated by a bureaucratic wall from the final result of his labor -- the cleaned cotton fiber. Within the agro-industrial system this looks especially absurd.

And if we go and suddenly get rid of the thieving middleman? Both the economy and the state will only benefit from this.

It's worthwhile, of course, to listen to the scientists who propose giving each cotton farm the possibility of taking the production cycle to its end -- to the drying and cleaning of the fiber. For this purpose, let the present giant plants be supplemented by small installations at the collective farms themselves and let the productivity of these installations be lower than at a large plant. With an abundance of working hands, this is not a terrible thing. To make up for it, the costs of transporting raw material will be reduced and, most importantly, a full, long-awaited relationship will be established between the worker and the final results of his labor.

And it will be possible to put an end to the absurd practice of planning on the basis of partially-processed production. In the whole world, we are the only ones who plan to produce, in addition to fiber and cottonseed oil, so much water, husk, and refuse -- everything that partially-processed production contains.

Winding down the mountain road which runs across the Kuramin mountain range, we descended into the blessed Fergana Valley. Far ahead and below, Syr Darya, the feeding trough of this area, lay silvery in the mist. Beyond it, the fields and gardens again climbed the slopes. As if in the palm of a hand, one of this land's most bountiful spots lay before us.

What, the reader will say, have you really not seen anything good up until now in this land? But how could one not see the good things! The oblast city of Namangan, expansive, clean, all in powerful plane trees and weeping willows. The cozy homes at some of the collective farm field camps, the well-kept equipment yards. The attempt to provide independence to the brigades. Restoration of the soil through use of crop rotation and correct agricultural techniques.

And also here, in Papskiy Rayon, we see ridiculous structures towering up over the steppe, some kind of platforms in the style of ancient caravansaries -- leftovers in the unkind memory of Odilov, about whom we spoke in the beginning. Everything side-by-side, everything in one oolast. The line separating evil and the good beginnings is still thin and fragile...

And the moods of workers of various rank differ to the extreme. Some are experiencing something like repentance. Others -- and there are many of these -- have shut themselves up in fear and expectancy. Members of a third group -- there are also a lot of them -- are trying to take the correct path, are struggling against obsolescent ideas of how to manage the economy, are thinking, reshaping, making proposals, and drawing lessons from the recent past.

And herein lies that healthy kernel from which it is necessary to cultivate the new tree of life on this land, which has lived and suffered through so much.

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